

A F F A I R S
O F
CHURCH and STATE
I N
ENGLAND,

During the Life and Reign
O F
QUEEN MARY.

Heb 11. 35, 36, 37.

35. *Some of them were tortured, not accepting deliverance ; that they might obtain a better Resurrection.*
36. *And others had triall of cruell mockings and scourgings ; yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment.*
37. *They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword ; they wandred about in Sheep-skins and Goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, &c.*

Vell. Patere. Lib. 2.

Hujus temporis fortunam ne deflere quidem quispiam satis dignè potuit ; nemo exprimere verbis potest.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

L O N D O N ,
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AT THE
OF
CHURCH
ENGLAND
OF THE

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The Parentage, Birth, and first Fortunes
of the Princessse

M A R Y,

The Eldest Daughter of K. Henry the Eighth,
before her comming to the CROWN.

With a brief Narrative of her Mother's Misfortunes, from
the first Agitating of the Divorce, till the time of her Death;
and that which followed thereupon.



MARY, the eldest Daughter of King Henry the Eighth,
and of Katherine his first wife, daughter of Ferdinand *An. 1516.*
and Isabella Kings of Spain, was born at Greenwich on
the 18th day of February, Anno 1516.. Her Mother had
before been married to Arthur Prince of Wales, the el-
der Brother of King Henry; but whether bedded by him
or not, (more than as to some old Formalities of
Court, on the like occasions) was not commonly

known; But he dying within few months after, King Henry the Seventh, the
father of the deceased Prince, was secretly dealt with by the Agents of the
said Ferdinand and Isabella, to proceed unto a second Marriage between Hen-
ry Duke of York, his now onely son, and their daughter Katherine. To which
King Henry readily condescendeth, upon divers reasons; partly to be assured
of the assistance of the Kings of Spain, against all practises of the French; and
partly that so great a Treasure, as the Rents and Profits of the Princessse's Joynture
might not be carried out of the Kingdom, as needs must be, if she should
be married to a Prince of another Nation. This being agreed on by the Pa-
rents of either side, Pope Julius the 2 d. is solicited for a Dispensation: to the
Grant whereof he willingly yielded, knowing how necessary it was to the
Peace of Christendom, that those Kings should be united in the strictest
Leagues of Love and Amity. Which comming to the knowledge of the Prin-
cessse Katherine, who understood her own condition better than her father or
mother, she caused those words, *vel forsan conitans*, to be inserted into the
Bull or Dispensation; and this she did for the preventing of all such disputes as
might arise about the validity of the Marriage, in case the consummation of it
should be openly known; though afterwards those words were used as the
shrewdest Argument for the invalidating of the Marriage, when it came in
question. And some such thing was thought to have prevailed with King Hen-

ry the seventh, for deserting the advancement of *Henry* his second son to the Style, Title, and Dignity of Prince of *Wales*, that he might first be well assured, that no child was likely to be born of the former Marriage, to whom that Title might more properly and of right belong.

The Dispensation being thus granted, Prince *Henry*, being then eleven years of age, or thereabouts, is solemnly contracted to the Princess *Katherine*, who must needs have a very great stock, as well of Christian-Prudence, as of Virgin-Modesty, to wait the growing up of a Husband being then a child, and one of whose affection to her, when he should come to Man's estate, she had no assurance; and so it proved in the event: For *Henry* had no sooner finished the fourteenth year of his age, when, either by the compunction of conscience, the persuasion of some that wish'd him well, or upon consideration of the disproportion of age which was then between them, (the Princess being eight years the elder) he resolved upon the breaking and annulling of the said Contract, in which his Parents had engaged him. To which end, making his address to Doctor *Richard Fox*, then Bishop of *Winchester*, he openly renounceth the said Contract, not by word onely, but by the subscription of his name to a Legall Instrument, containing the effect of that Renunciation, his Resolution never to proceed any further in it, and his Reasons for it. Which Instrument he published in the presence of *John Read*, a publick Notary, (the Bishop sitting then at *Richmond*, as in Court or Consistory) and witnessed unto by *Miles Daubeny*, Lord Chamberlain to King *Henry* the seventh, and father of *Henry* Earl of *Bridgewater*; Sir *Charles Sommerset* Banneret, created afterwards Earl of *Worcester*; Dr. *Nicolas West*, after Bishop of *Elis*; Dr. *Thomas Rowthall*, after Bishop of *Durham*; and Sir *Henry Adair*. The Instrument it self, extant in the History of *John Speed*, may be there consulted. And in pursuance of this Act, he waived the Consummation of the Marriage from one time to another, till the death of his father, which happened on the 22 of April, An. 1509. he being then within two months of the age of eighteen years. But being now come unto the Crown by the death of his father, Reason of State prevailed so far beyond that of Conscience, that he consented to the consummation of the Marriage, which before he had solemnly renounced, and did accordingly celebrate those unhappy Nuptials (the cause of so much trouble both to him and others) on the second of June, and caused her to be Crown'd with him on the 24 th. of the same month. This Marriage was blest within the year by the birth of a son, whom the King caused to be Christened by the name of *Henry*; and five years after with another, who lived not long enough to receive his Baptism.

But *Henry*, the first-born, not living to be two months old, the King remained childlesse till the birth of this daughter *Mary*, the presumptive Heir of his Dominions; committed in her Infancy to the care and charge of the Lady *Margaret*, daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and by the King (in reference to her descent from the house of the *Montagues*) advanced unto the Style and Title of Countesse of *Sarisbury*, An. 1513. And herein it was thought, that the Queen had a particular aim beyond that of the King, and that she rather chose to commit her daughter to the care of that Lady, than of any other in the Kingdom; to the end, that some affection growing to her by any of the Countesse's sons, her daughter's Title to the Crown might be corroborated by the Interest of the House of *Clarence*. And so far her design succeeded, that the Princess *Mary* always carried such a dear affection to *Reginald Pole*, her second son, (best known by the name of *Cardinal Pole* in the following times) that when she came unto the Crown, she would have made choice of him for her husband before any other, if the necessity of her affairs, and some artifices used to illude that purpose, had not changed her mind. She had scarce liv'd to the third year of her age, when she was promised in marriage to the Dauphine of *France*, with a Portion of 333000 Crowns, to be paid by her Father, and as great a Joynture to be made by the French King *Francis*,

1519.

1519.

as ever had been made by any King of that Country. And so far did the business seem to be acted in earnest, that it was publicly agreed upon in the treaty for the Town of *Tournay*, that the *Esponsals* should be made within four months, by the said two Kings, in the name of their children; in pursuance whereof, as the *French King* sent many rich gifts to some leading men of the Court of *England*, to gain their good liking to this League, so he sent many costly Presents to the *Princess Mary*, the designed wife (if Princes could be bound by such designations) of the heir of *France*.

But war beginning to break out between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, it was thought fit by *Charles* the fifth, being then Emperor of *Germany*, and King of *Spain*, to court the favour of the *English*; for the obtaining whereof, his nearness to *Queen Katherine*, being sister to the *Queen*, his Mother, gave him no small hopes. Upon this ground he makes a voyage into *England*, is royally feasted by the King, installed solemnly Knight of the Order of the *Garter*, in the Castle of *Windsor*, and there capitulates with the King amongst other things, to take to wife his daughter *Mary*, as soon as she should come to the years of marriage; it was also then and there agreed, that as soon as she was twelve years old, the Emperor should send a proxy to make good the contract & espouse her *per verba de presenti* in the usual form, that in the mean time the King of *England* should not give her in marriage unto any other, that a dispensation should be procured from the Pope, at the charge of both Princes, in regard that the parties were within the second degree of consanguinity; that within four months after the contract, the *Princess* should be sent to the Emperor's Court, whether it were in *Spain* or *Flanders*, at the sole charge of the King of *England*, and married within four days after her coming thither, in the face of the Church; her portion limited to 400000 crowns, if the King should have no issue male, but to be enlarged to 600000 crowns more, if the King should have any such issue male to succeed in the Kingdom. A jointure of 50000 crowns *per annum*, to be made by the Emperor, the one part thereof to be laid in *Flanders*, and the other in *Spain*; and finally, that if either of the said two Princes should break off this marriage, he should forfeit 400000 crowns to the party injured.

And now who could have thought but that the *Princess Mary*, must have been this Emperor's wife, or the wife rather of any Prince, then one that was to be begotten by this Emperor, on another woman, though in conclusion so it hapned. As long as *Charles* had any need of the assistance and friendship of *England*, so long he seemed to go on really in the promised marriage, and by all means must have the *Princess* sent over presently to be declared *Empress*, and made *Regent of Flanders*. But when he had taken the *French King* at the battel of *Pavia*, sackt *Rome*, and made the Pope his prisoner, he then conceived himselfe in a condition of seeking for a wife elsewhere, which might be presently ripe for marriage, without such a tedious expectation, as his tarrying for the *Princess Mary* must needs have brought him. And thereupon he shuts up a marriage with the Lady *Isabell*, *Infanta* of *Polugall*, and daughter to another of his Mother's sisters. For which being questioned by the King, he layes the blame upon the importunity of his Council, who could not patiently permit him to remain unmarried, till the *Princess Mary* came to age; and who besides had caused a scruple to be started, touching her illegitimation, as being born by one that had been wife to his elder brother. King *Henry* thereupon proceeds to a new treaty with the *French*, to whom his friendship at the time of their King's captivity had been very useful; which is by them as cheerfully excepted, as by him it had been frankly offered. She had before been promised to the Dauphin of *France*, but now she is design'd for the second son, then Duke of *Orleans*, who afterwards, by the death of his elder brother, succeeded his father in the Crown. But whilst they were upon this treaty, the former question touching her legitimacion, was again revived by the Bishop of *Tarbis*, one of the Commissioners for the *French*, which though it seem'd

1522.

1525.

seem'd not strong enough to dissolve the treaty which the *French* were willing to conclude (as their affairs then stood) upon any conditions; yet it occasioned many troubles in the Court of *England*, and almost all Christendome besides.

1526.

For now the doubt being started a second time, and started now by such, who could not well subsist without his friendship, began to make a deep impression in the mind of the King, and to call back such passages to his remembrance, as otherwise would have been forgotten. He now bethinks himselfe of the Protestation which he had made in the presence of Bishop *Fox* before remembered, never to take the Lady *Katherine* for his wife; looks on the death of his two sons, as a punishment on him for proceeding in the marriage; and casts afeare of many inconveniences, or mischiefs rather, which must inevitably befall this Kingdome, if he should dye, and leave no lawful issue to enjoy the Crown. Hope of more children there was none, and little pleasure to be taken in a conversation; which the disproportion of their years, and a greater inequality in their dispositions, must render lesse agreeable every day then other. In this perplexity of mind, he consults his *Confessor*, by whom he was advised to make known his griefs to Cardinal *Wolsie*, on whose judgement he relied in most other matters; which hapned so directly to the Cardinal's mind, as if he had contrived the project. The Emperour had lately cross'd him in his suit for the Popedome, and since denied him the Archbishopricke of *Toledo*, with the promise whereof he had before bound him to his side. And now the Cardinal resolves to take the opportunity of the King's distractions, for perfecting his revenge against him. In order whereunto, as he had drawn the King to make peace with *France*, and to conclude a marriage for his daughter with the Duke of *Orleanse*; so now he hopes to separate him from the bed of *Katherine*, the Emperour's Aunt, and marry him to *Madam Rhinot*, the *French* Queens sister, who afterwards was wife to the Duke of *Ferrara*. About which time the picture of *Madam Margaret*, the sister of King *Francis*, first married to the Duke of *Alanzon*, was brought amongst others into *England*, by *Thomas Bolen*, Viscount *Rochford*, at his return from the *French* Court, where he had been Ambassador for the King of *England*: which first occasioned areport in the common people, and afterwards a mistake in our common Chronicles, touching this Ladie's being designed by *Wolsie* for a wife to his Master; whereas she was at that time actually married to the Count of *Abret*, King of *Navarre* in title, and in title only.

1527.

But *Rochford* brought with him out of *France* another Piece, which more excelled the picture of the Dutchesse of *Alanzon*, then that Dutchesse did the ordinary beauties in the Court of *France*; that is to say, his daughter *Anne*, whom he had bred up for a time in the house of the Dutchesse, which render'd her an exact mistresse of the gaities and garb of the great *French* Ladies. Appearing in the Court of *England*, she shewed her selfe with so many advantages above all other Ladies about the Queen, that the King easily took notice of her. Whether more captivated by the Allurements of her beauty, or the facetiousnesse of her behaviour, it is hard to say; certain it is, that he suffered himselfe to be so far transported in affection towards her, that he could think of nothing else, but what might tend to the accomplishment of his desires; so that the separation from the bed of *Katherine*, which was but coldly followed upon case of *Conscience*, is now more hotly prosecuted in the heat of *Concupiscence*. In the mean time the King adviseth with the Cardinal, and the Cardinal with the most learned men in the Realm of *England*. By whom it was modestly resolved, that the King had a very just ground to consult the Pope, and to use all lawful means for extricating himselfe out of those perplexities, in which this marriage had involved him. The Pope had been beholden to the King, for procuring his liberty, when the *Imperialists* held him prisoner in the Fort of *St Angelo*; and was in reason bound to gratifie him for so great a benefit. But then withall, he neither was to provoke the Emperour, nor hazard the

the Authority and Reputation of the See Apottolick, by running on the King's errand with more haste then speed. He therefore goes to work like a Pope of Rome, and entertains the King with hopes: without giving the Emperour and his adherents, any cause of despair. A Commission is therefore granted to two Cardinals, that is to say, Cardinal *Thomas Wolfe*, Archbishop of *Tork*, and *Laurence Campesius*, whom *Henry* some few years before, had made Bishop of *Sarisbury*; both beneficiaries to the King, and therefore like enough to consult more his interest, then the Queen's contentment.

Of the erecting of a Court *Laganine* in the Convent of the *Black Friars* in *London*, the citing of the King and Queen to appear before them, the Kings patheticall Oration in the bemoaning of his own misfortunes, and the Queen's Appeal from the two Cardinals to the Pope, I shall now say nothing; leaving the Reader for those passages to our common *Annals*. Suffice in this place to note, that while the businesse went on favourable in the King's behalfe, *Wolfe* was given to understand of his desperate loves to Mistrisse *Bollen*, which represented to him two ensuing mischiefs, not to be otherwise avoided, then by slackning the course of these proceedings. For first, he saw that if the King should be divorc'd definitively from his present wife, he should not be able to draw him to accept of *Madam Rheus* the French Queens sister, which was the mark he chiefly aimed at. And secondly, he feared that Mistrisse *Anno* had brought so much of the *Lutheran* with her, as might in time become destructive to the Church of *Rome*. Of this he certifies the Pope, the Pope recalls *Campesius*, and revokes his Commission; leaving the King to call about to some new wayes to effect his purpose. And at this time it hapned, that Dr *Thomas Crammer* (who afterwards obtained to the See of *Canterbury*) discoursing with some of the Kings Ministers, about the intricatenesse and perplexity of this great affair; declared, for his opinion in it, that it were better for the King to govern himselfe therein, by the judgement and determination of the Universities beyond the seas, then to depend upon the shifts and Artifices of the Court of *Rome*. Which being told unto the King, he dispatcheth *Crammer* unto *Rome*, in the company of *Rochford*, now made Earl of *Wiltshire*, to maintain the King's cause by disputation; and at the same time employs his agents to the Universities of *France* and *Italy*, who being under the command of the French King, or the power of the Pope, gave sentence in behalfe of *Henry*, condemning his marriage with the Lady *Katherine*, the Relict of his brother, to be simply unlawful in it selfe, and therefore not to be made valid by a dispensation from the Popes of *Rome*.

1528.

1529.

The putting the King upon this course, proved the fall of *Wolfe*; who growing every day lesse then other in the King's esteem, was brought within the compasse of a *Praemunire*, and thereby strip of all his goods to an infinite value; removed not long after unto *Tork*, and there arrested of High Treason by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and committed to the custody of Sir *William Kingston*, being then Lievtenant of the Tower. By whom conducted towards *London*, he departed this life in the Abby of *Leicester*: his great heart not being able to endure so many indignities, as had been lately put upon him, and having cause to fear much worse then his former sufferings. But the removing of this Rub, did not much smooth the way to the King's desires. The Queen's appeal unto the Pope, was the greatest difficulty, from which since she could not be removed, it must be made unprofitable and ineffectual, for the time to come. And thereupon a Proclamation is set forth on the 19 of September, 1530. in these following words, viz. "The King's Highnesse" "streightly chargeth and commandeth, That no manner of person, of what estate, degree or condition, he or they be of, do purchase, or attempt to purchase, from the Court of *Rome*, or elsewhere, nor use, nor put in execution, divorce or publish, any thing heretofore within this year passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter; containing matter prejudicial to the High Authority, Jurisdiction, and prerogative Royal of this his said Realm, or to

1530.

"the

"the lett, hinderance, or impeachment, of his Grace's Noble, and Vertuous intended purposes in the premises; upon pain of incurring his Highnesse's indignation, and imprisonment, and farther punishment of their bodies, for their so doing, at his Grace's pleasure; to the dreadful example of all others.

This was the Prologue to the downfall of the Pope in England, seconded by the Kings taking to himselfe the Title of *Supream Head* of the Churches of England and Ireland, acknowledged in the Convocation, and confirmed in Parliament, and ending finally in an Act intituled, *An Act for extinguishing the authority of the Bishops of Rome*. And in all this the King did nothing but what he had example and Authority for, at that very time; for in the year 1520 (being but ten years before the setting forth of this Proclamation) *Monseieur a' Lantreth*, Governour for the French King, in the Dukedome of *Millain*, taking a displeasure against Pope *Leo* the tenth, deprived him of all his jurisdiction within the Dukedom. And that being done, he so disposed of all Ecclesiasticall affairs, that the Church there was supremely governed by the Bishop of *Bigorre* (a Bishop of the Church of France), without the intermeddling of the Pope at all. The like we find to have been done by the Emperour, *Charles* the fifth, who being no lesse displeased with Pope *Clement* the eighth, abolished the Papal power and jurisdiction, out of all the Churches of his Kingdome in Spain, which though it held but for a while (till the breach was closed) yet left he an example by it (as my Author noteth) that there was no necessity of any Pope or supreme Pastor in the Church of Christ. And before either of these Acts or Edicts came in point of practice, the learned *Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris* (when the Popes power was greater far, then it was at the present) had writ and published a discourse, entituled, *De asseribilibus Papis*, touching the totall abrogating of the Papall Office. Which certainly he had never done, had the Papall Office been found essentiall, and of inrinsicall concernment to the Church of Christ. According unto which position of that learned man, the greatest Princes of those times did look upon the Pope, and the Papall power, as an *Excrescence* at the least in the body mysticall, subject and fit to be pared off, as occasion served. And if they did, or do permit him to retain any part of his former greatnesse, it is permitted rather upon selfe-ends, or Reasons of state, or otherwise to serve their turn by him as their need requireth, then out of any opinion of his being so necessary, that the Church cannot bewell governed, or subsist without him.

1531.

But leaving these disputes to some other place, we must return unto the Queen. To whom some Lords are sent in the end of *May*, an. 1531. declaring to her the determinations of the Universities, concerning the pretended marriage betwixt her and the King. And therewith they demanded of her; whether, for quieting the King's conscience, and putting an end to that debate, she would be content to refer the matter to four Bishops, and four temporall Lords. But this she absolutely refused, saying, She was his lawful Wife, that she would stand to her Appeal, and condescend to nothing in that particular, but by the counsel of the Emperour, and the rest of her friends. This answer makes the King more resolute, more open in the demonstration of his affections to the Lady *Anne Bollen*, whom he makes Marchionesse of *Pembroke*, by his Lettres Patents, bearing date the first of *September*, 1532. takes her along with him to *Callic* in *October* following, there to behold the glorious interview betwixt him and the French King; and finally, privately marieth her within few dayes after his return, the divorce being yet unsentenced betwixt him and the Queen. Not long after which, it was thought necessary to the King, to call a Parliament, wherein he caused an Act to passe, that no person should appeal for any cause out of this Realm, to the Pope of *Rome*; but that all Appeals should be made by the party grieved from the Commissary to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, as had been anciently observed amongst the first Kings of the House of *Normandy*. It was also enacted in the same, that all causes Ecclesi-

ticall

*Ut praeferat sa-
cris Bigoranno
Episcopo, omnia
sine Romani Po-
puli auctori-
tate administra-
rentur. Thuan.*

*Ecclesiasticam
disciplinam ci-
tra Romani no-
minis auctori-
tatem posse con-
secrari.*

1532.

ticall Cognisances, in which the King himself was a Party, should be determined finally in the Upper-House of Convocation, without being bound to make recourse to the Court of *Rome*. During the sitting of which Parliament it is declared by Proclamation, that Queen *Katherine* should no longer be called *Queen*, but *Princesse Dowager*, as being the Widow of Prince *Arthur*, not the Wife of King *Henry*.

Warham Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the mean time dying, *Cranmer* is designed for his Successor in that eminent dignity; which he unwillingly accepts of, partly in regard that he was married at that time; and partly in reference to an Oath which he was to take unto the Pope at his Consecration. But the King was willing, for his own ends, to wink at the one, and the Pope was not in a condition (as the case then stood) to be too peremptory in the other. So that a Protestation being admitted, of not being otherwise bound to the Pope, than should be found agreeable to the Word of God, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, he takes his Oath, and receives the Episcopall Consecration, the 30th. of *March*, 1533. the Parliament still sitting which before we spake of. At his first entrance into the House of Convocation, he propounds two Questions to be considered and disputed by the Bishops and Clergy; the first was, Whether the marrying of a Brother's wife, carnally known, though without any issue by him, be so prohibited by the Will and Word of God, as not to be dispenc'd withall by the Pope of *Rome*. The second was, Whether it did appear, upon the Evidence given in before the Cardinals, that *Katherine* had been carnally known by Prince *Arthur*, or not. Both Questions being carried in the Affirmative, though not without some Opposition in either House, in the first especially; it was concluded thereupon in the Convocation, and not long after in the Parliament also, That the King might lawfully proceed to another Marriage.

These preparations being made, the Marriage precondemned by Convocation, and all Appeals to *Rome* made ineffectuall by Act of Parliament, the new Archbishop (upon his own desire & motion, contain'd in his Letters of the 11th of *April*) is authorized by the King, under his *Signe Manuall*, to proceed definitively in the Cause. Who thereupon, accompanied with the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Wells*, and *Lincoln*, and divers other persons to serve as Officers in that Court, repaired to *Dunstable* in the begining of *May*; and having a convenient place prepared in the form of a Consistory, they sent a Citation to the *Princesse Dowager*, who was then at *Amptill*, (a Mannor-house of the King's about six miles off) requiring her to appear before them at the day appointed; which day being come, and no appearance by her made, either in Person, or by Proxie, (as they knew there would not) she is called peremptorily every day, fifteen days together; and every day there was great boasting betwixt them and the Court, to certifie the King and *Cromwell* (a principall stickler in this businesse) how all matters went. In one of which, from the new Archbishop, extant in the *Cottonian* Library, a Resolution is signified to *Cromwell* for comming to a final Sentence on *Friday* the 18th. of that Month, but with a vehement conjuration both to him and the King, not to divulge so great a secret, for fear the *Princesse Dowager* on the hearing of it, either before, or on the day of passing Sentence, should make her appearance in the Court: "For (saith he) if the noble Lady *Katherine* should, upon the bruit of this matter, either in the mouths of the Inhabitants of the Country, or by her Friends, or Counsell, hearing of this bruit, be moved, stirred, counselled, or perswaded to appear before me, in the time, or afore the time of Sentence, I should be thereby greatly aiaid and let in the Process, and the King's Grace's Council here present shall be much uncertain what shall be then further done therein. For a great bruit and voice of the people in this behalf; might perchance move her to do the thing, which peradventure she would not if she hear little of it. And therefore I pray you to speak as little of this matter as you may, and to move the King's High-

"ness to do, for consideration above recited. But so it hapned to their wish, that the Queen, persisting constant in her Resolution of standing to the Judgment of no other Court than the Court of *Rome*, vouchsafed not to take any notice of their proceeding in the Cause. And thereupon, at the day and time before designed, she was pronounced to be *Contumax* for defect of Appearance; and by the generall consent of all the Learned men then present, the Sentence of the Divorce was passed, and her Marriage with the King declared void, and of none effect.

Of all these doings, as the Divorced Queen would take no notice, so by her Officers and Attendants she was served as in her former capacity. Which coming to the King's knowledge, he sends the Duke of *Suffolk*, and some others in the month of *July*, with certain Instructions given in Writing, to perswade her, to submit to the Determinations of the King and State, to lay aside the Title of Queen, to content her self with that of the *Princess Dowager*; and to remove her from the Bishop of *Lincoln's* house at *Bayden*, where she then remained, to a place called *Somesham*, belonging to the Bishop and Church of *Eli*. To none of which when she would hearken, an Oath is tendered to her Officers and the rest of her Household, to serve her onely in the capacity of *Princess Dowager*, and not as formerly in the notion of a Queen of *England*. Which at the first was generally refused amongst them, upon a Resolution which had been made in the Case by *Abel* and *Berker*, her two Chaplains; that is to say, That having already took an Oath to serve her as Queen, they could not with a good conscience take any other. But in the end, a fear of losing their said places, but more of falling into the King's displeasure, so prevailed upon them; that the Oath was taken by most of them; not suffered from thenceforth to come into the Queen's presence, (who looked upon them as the betrayers of her Cause) or to perform any service about her Person. Some Motives, to induce her to a better conformity, were ordered to be laid before her; none like to be more prevalent, than that which might concern the Interest of her daughter *Mary*. And therefore it was offered to her consideration, That chiefly, and above all things, she should have regard to "the Honourable, and her most dear Daughter, the Lady *Princess*; from "whom, in case the King's Highnesse (being thus enforced, exagiered, and "moved by the unkindnesse of the Dowager) might also withdraw his Princely "estimation, goodnesse, zeal, and affection; it would be to her no little regret, sorrow, and extream calamity. But the wise Queen knew well enough, that if she stood, her Daughter could not do amiss; whereas there could be nothing gained by such submissions, but the dishonour of the one, the Bastardizing of the other, and the excluding of them both from all possibility of being restored in time to come to their first condition.

Finding small hopes of any justice to be done her in the Realm of *England*, and not well able to endure so many indignities as had been daily put upon her, she makes her complaint unto the Pope, whom she found willing to show his teeth, though he could not bite. For presently hereupon a Bull is issued, for accursing both the King and the Realm; the Beater hereof not daring to proclaim the same in *England*, caused it to be set up in some publick places in the Town of *Dunkirk*, (one of the Haven Towns of *Flanders*) that so the roaring of it might be heard on this side of the Sea, to which it was not safe to bring it. But neither the Pope nor the Queen Dowager got any thing by this rash adventure, which onely served to exasperate the King against them, as also against all which adhered unto them. For in the following Parliament, which began on the 15th of *January*, and ended on the 30th of *March*, an Act was passed, inhibiting the payment of First-fruits to the Bishop of *Rome*, and for the Electing, Consecrating, and Confirming of the Archbishops and Bishops in the Realm of *England*, without recourse unto the Pope, cap. 20. Another Act for the Attaindure of *Elizabeth Barton*, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, with many other her adherents, for stickling in the cause of the

the Princeſſe Dowager, *cap. 12.* and finally, of *Eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion* in the Crown Imperiall of this Realm, *cap. 22.* In which laſt Act, the Sentence of the Divorce was confirmed and ratified, the Princeſſe *Mary* declared to be illegitimate, the Succeſſion of the Crown entailed on the King's Iſſue by Queen *Anne Bollen*, an Oath preſcribed for all the Subjects in maintenance of the ſaid Statute of Succeſſion, and taken by the Lords and Commons at the end of that Parliament, as generally by all the Subjects of the Kingdom within few months after. For the reſuſall whereof, as alſo for denying the King's Supremacy, and ſome ſuſpicion of confederacy with *Elizabeth Barton*, Doctor *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, not many days before created Cardinall by Pope *Paul* the 3^d. was on the 22 of *June* beheaded publickly on the *Tower-hill*, and his head moſt diſgracefully fixed upon a Pole, and ſet on the top of the Gate on *London-Bridge*. And on the 6th. of *July* then next following, Sir *Thomas Moor*, who had ſucceeded *Wolſie* in the place of Lord Chancellor, was beheaded for the ſame cauſe alſo. But I find him not accuſed, as I do the other, for having any hand in the Conſpiracy of *Elizabeth Barton*.

The Execution of which great perſons, and of ſo many others who wiſh'd well unto her, added ſo much affliction to the deſolate and diſconſolate Queen, that not being able longer to bear the burden of ſo many miſeries, ſhe fell into a languiſhing ſickneſſe; which more and more encreaſing on her, and finding the near approach of death, (the onely remedy now left for all her ſorrows) ſhe dictated this enſuing Letter, which ſhe cauſed to be delivered to the King by one of her Women, wherein ſhe laid before him theſe her laſt requeſts, *viz.*

My moſt dear Lord, King and Husband
(for ſo ſhe called him.)

THe hour of my death now approaching, I cannot chuſe but, out of the love I bear you, adviſe you of your ſouls health, which you ought to prefer before all conſiderations of the world, or fleſh, whatſoever: For which yet you have caſt me into many calamities, and your ſelf into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God ſo do ſo likewiſe. For the reſt, I commend unto you *Mary* our daughter, beſeeching you to be a good Father unto her, as I have hertofore deſired. I muſt entreat you alſo to reſpect my Maids, and give them in Marriage, which is not much, they being but three. And to all my other ſervants a year's pay, beſides their due, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould be unprovided for. Laſtly, I make this Vow, That mine Eyes have deſired you above all things.

Farewell.

Within few days after the writing of which Letter, that is to ſay, on the 8th. of *January* then next following, ſhe yielded her pious Soul to God at the King's Mannor-houſe of *Kimbolton*, in the Countrey of *Huntington*, and was ſolemnly interred not long after in the Abbey of *Peterborough*. The reading of her Letter drew ſome tears from the King, which could not but be much encreaſed by the news of her death. Moved by them both to ſuch a meaſure of commiſeration of her ſad condition, that he cauſed the greateſt part of her goods (amounting to 5000 Marks) to be expended on her Funerall, and in the recompencing of ſuch of her ſervants as had beſt deſerved it. Never ſo kind to her in the time of her life, as when he had rendred her incapable of receiving a kindeſſe.

The Princeſſe *Mary* is now left wholly to her ſelf, declared illegitimate by her Father, deprived of the comfort of her Mother, and in a manner forſa-

ken by all her friends, whom the severe proceedings against *Mear* and *Fisher* had so deterred, that few durst pay her any offices of Love or Duty. Of any proceedings in the March with the Duke of *Orleans*, we hear no more news, all further prosecution of it being at a stand by the misfortunes of her Mother; nor was she sought in Marriage by any other Prince in the life of her Father, but onely by *James* the 5th. of *Scotland*; but finding himself deluded in it by King *Henry*, he thought it best to strengthen himself by a March with *France*, where he was first married to *Madam Magdalene*, the first daughter of *K. Francis*, and afterwards to *Mary* daughter of *Claude* of *Lorraine*, Duke of *Guise*, by whom he had one onely daughter called *Mary* also. In which condition, the poor Princessse had no greater comfort than what she could gather from her Books, in which she had been carefully instructed by Doctor *John Vespe*, alias *Harman*, appointed her Tutor by the King; and, for his good performance in that place of trust, advanced by him to the Sea of *Exon*, *An. 1529.* and afterwards made Lord President of *Wales*; which fell out better for the Tutor, than it did for the Pupill; Who being left destitute of the counsell of so grave a Man, began to give way more and more to her grief and passions, which brought her at the last to such an averfenessse from the King, and such a manifest disaffection to his Person and Government, that he was once upon the point of sending her prisoner to the *Tower*; and had so done, if *Cranmer* had not interposed some powerfull reasons to dissuade him from it.

During which time of her averfenessse, the King sent certain of the Lords to remove her to *Hatfield*; who having no authority to treat her by the name of Princessse, but onely to execute the King's commands, gave her occasion thus to signifie her discontentments, "My Lords (said she) as touching my removing to *Hatfield*, I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place that his Grace will appoint mee. But I protest before you, and all other that be here present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other than my self for Princessse, or for the King's Daughter, born in lawfull Matrimony; and that I will never wittingly or willingly say or do, whereby any person might take occasion to think, that I agree to the contrary. Nor say I this out of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my Judge; but that if I should do otherwise, I should in my conscience slander the Deed of our Morher, the holy Church, and the Pope, who is the Judge in this matter, and none other; and also should dishonour the King my Father, the Queen my Mother, and falsly confesse my self a Bastard, which God defend that I should do, since the Pope hath not so declared it by his Sentence definitive, to whose finall Judgment I submit my self. In pursuance of which claim to the Title of Princessse, together with the Priviledges and Preheminences thereunto belonging, she writes this following Letter to the King her Father, on a like occasion.

IN most humble wise I beseech your Grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth it the same to be advertised, that this morning my Chamberlain came and shewed me, that he had received a Letter from Sir William Paulet, Controller of your House: the effect whereof was, that I should with all diligence remove unto the Castle of *Hertford*. Whereupon I desired him to see the same Letter, which he shewed me; wherein was written, That the Lady Mary, the King's Daughter, should remove to the place before-said, leaving out in the same the name of Princessse. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily, that your Grace was not privy to the same Letter, at concerning the leaving out of the name of Princessse; forasmuch as I doubt not in your goodnessse, but that your Grace doth take me for your lawfull Daughter, born in true Matrimony. Wherefore if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my conscience run into the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly, that your Grace would not that I so should. And in all other things, your Grace shall have me always as humble an obedient Daughter and Handmaid, as ever was child to
she

the father, which my duty bindeth me so; as knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his most holy mission, with much honor and long life, to his pleasure.

From your Mannor of
Beaulieu, *Gloucester*.

By your most humble Daughter,
MARY Princess.

And on these terms she stood, from the Divorce of her Mother till the Arraignment of Queen Anne Bullen, against whom she thought it did concern her to bear up to the highest, as she did accordingly.

But growing into better hopes by the death of the said Queen Anne, the Annulling of the Marriage also, and the Bastardizing of the Princess Elizabeth her onely daughter, she began to cast about again, writes her submissive Letters to the King her father, and humbly craves some testimonies of his love and goodnesse: Which so prevailed, that the Duke of Norfolk is sent to treat with her upon certain Instructions; so necessary to the knowledge of her affairs, in this Conjunction, that they deserve a place here, and are these that follow.

Certain Articles and Injunctions, given by the King's Highness to his right Trusty and right entirely beloved Cousen and Counsellor, the Duke of Norfolk; whom, with certain others in his company, His Majesty sendeth to the Lady Mary his Daughter, for the Purposes ensuing.

First, whereas the said Lady Mary hath sundry ways, with long continuance, shewed her self so obstinate towards the King's Majesty, her Sovereign Lord and Father, and so disobedient to his Laws, conceived and made upon most just, verities, and godly grounds, that as the wilfull disobedience thereof seemeth a monster in Nature; so, unlesse the mercy of his Highness had been most abundantly extended unto her, by the course of his Grace's Laws, and the force of his Justice, she endangered her self so far, that it was greatly to his Highness's regret and heavy sorrow, to see and perceive how little she esteemed the same; extending to the loss of his favour, the loss of her honour, the loss of her life, and undoubtedly to the indignation of Almighty God. For that she neither obeyeth her Father and Sovereign, nor his just and verities Laws aforesaid. And that of late nevertheless calling to remembrance her transgressions and offences in this part towards God, her Father and Sovereign Lord the King's Highness; (he hath written to the said three sundry Letters, containing a declaration of her repentance conceived for the same), with such an humble and simple submission, as she appeareth not onely to submit her self wholly, and without exception, (especially by the last Letter) to the Laws, but also for her state and condition, to put her self onely to his Grace's mercy; nothing desiring but mercy and forgiveness for her offences, with a reconciliation to his Grace's favour.

Albeit his Majesty hath been so ingrately handled and used by her, as is aforesaid declared, that the like would enforce any private person to abandon for ever such an unkind and disobedient child from their grace and favour; yet, such is his Majesty's gracious and divine nature, such is his clemency and pity, such his mercifull inclination and Princely heart, that, as he hath been ever ready to take pity and compassion of all offenders, repentantly calling and crying for the same; So, in case he may thoroughly perceive the same to be in the said Lady Mary's heart, which (he hath put in pen and writing, his Highness considering the imbecillity of her sex; being the same is frail, inconstant, and easie to be perswaded by simple counsell, can be right well contented to remit unto her part of his said displeasure. And therefore hath at this time, for the certain knowledge of her heart and stomach, sent unto her his said Cousen, with others, to demand and enquire of her certain Questions. Her Answer: whereunto his pleasure is they shall require; and note in writing, which shall

shall throughly decipher, whether she be indeed the person she pretendeth, or for any respect hath with general words laboured to cloak the speciall matter, which is repugnant and contrary to that, which his Majesty hath gathered and conceived of the same.

1. And first, after their Access and Declaration of the Premises, they shall for their first Question demand of her, Whether she doth recognise and knowledge the King's Highnesse for her Sovereign Lord and King, in the Emperiall Crown of this Realm of England, and will and doth submit her self unto his Highnesse, and to all and singular the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, as becommeth every true and faithfull Subject to do.

2. Also, whether she will with all her power and qualities, that God hath endu'd her withall, not onely obey, keep, and observe all and singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm; but also set forth, advance, and maintain the same, to the utmost of her power, according to her bounden duty.

3. Also, whether she will recognise, accept, take, and repute the King's Highnesse to be Supreme Head in Earth, under Christ, of the Church of England, and utterly refuse the Bishop of Rome's pretended Power and Jurisdiction, heretofore usurped in this Realm, according to the Laws and Statutes of the same, made and ordained in the behalf of all the King's true Subjects, humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed: And also will and do renounce, and utterly forsake, all manner of Remedy, Interesse, and Advantage by the said Bishop of Rome's Laws, Processes, or Jurisdiction to her in any wise appertaining, or that hereafter may by any Title, Colour, or Mean, belong, grow, succeed or appertain, or in any case may follow or ensue.

4. And whether she will and doth, of her Duty and Obedience towards God, her Allegiance towards the King's Highnesse, and the Laws of this Realm, and also of the sincere love and zeal that she beareth towards the Truth, freely and frankly recognise and knowledge, without any other respect, both by God's Law and Man's Law, the Marriage heretofore had between his Majesty and her Mother, to be unlawfull.

5. Also, Be she enquired or examined, For what cause, and by whose motion and means she hath continued and remained in her obstinacy so long; and who did embold, or animate her thereto, with other circumstances thereof appertaining?

6. Also, What is the cause, that she at this present time, rather then at any other heretofore, doth submit her selfe?

To these six Articles, she was required to give a plain and positive answer: Which plainly shewes the doubtfulnesse and uncertainty of her present condition, in being either forced to confesse her selfe to be illegitimate, or running on the last hazzard of the Kings displeasure, if she should do otherwise. But wisely considering in her selfe, whom she had to deal with, she thought it safest to strike sale, and to submit her selfe to him, with whom it was not lawfull for her to dispute that point, if she had been able. She therefore makes a cleer acknowledgement of the four first Articles, by the subscribing of her name; but craved leave to demur on the two last, because some persons were concern'd in them, whom she was not willing to discover. And by this means she gain'd so far upon the King, that from that time forwards, he held her in the same ranck with the rest of his children; gave her her turn in the succession of the Kingdome; assigned her portion of ten thousand pounds, to be paid at her marriage, and in the interim, three thousand pounds *per annum*, for her personal maintenance. And more then this he did not do for his daughter *Elizabeth*; notwithstanding the esteem and affection which he bare to her mother; for bringing whom into his bed, he had cancelled all the bonds of his former marriage. Little or nothing more occurreth of her in the time of King *Henry*, because there was little or nothing altered in the face of Religion, which might give her any cause of publick or personall dislike. But when the great alterations hapned in the time of King *Edward*, she then declared her selfe more openly

openly (as she might more safely) in opposition to the same: concerning which she thus declares her selfe in a Letter to the Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council, dated at Kensinghall, June 12. An. 1549.

My Lord,

I Perceive by the Letters which I late receiv'd from you, and other of the King's Majesties Council, that you be all sorry to find so little conformity in me, touching the observation of his Majestie's Laws; who am well assured I have offended no Law, unlesse it be a late law of your own making, which in my conscience is not worse by the name of Law, both for the King's honors sake, and the wealth of the Realm, and giving the occasion of an evil bruit throughout all Christendome, besides the partiality used in the same, and (as my conscience is very well persuaded) the offending God, which passeth all the rest. But I am well assured, that the King his Fathers Lawes, were all allowed and consented to, without compulsion, by the whole Realm, both spiritual and temporal, and all the Executors sworn upon a book to fulfil the same, so that it was an authorized Law. And that I have obeyed, and will do with the grace of God, till the King's Majesty my brother, shall have sufficient years to be a Judge in this matter himself. Whereto (my Lord) I was plain with you at my last being in the Court, declaring unto you at that time, wherunto I would stand; and now do assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from a terring of mine opinion, is for two causes. One principally for my conscience; the other, that the King my brother shall not hereafter charge me to be one of those that were agreeable to such alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by such changes, since the death of the King my Father, to every indifferent person, it well appeareth, both to the displeasure of God, and unquietnesse of the Realm.

Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loath to see his Highnesse take hurt, or that any evil should come to this his Realm, as the best of you all; and none of you have the like cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his Majesties poor and humble sister, most tenderly to love and pray for him, and unto this his Realm (being born within the same) with all wealth and prosperity to Gods honour. And if any Judge of me the contrary for mine opinions sake, as I trust none doeth, I doubt not in the end, with Gods help, to prove my false as true a natural and humble Sister, as they of the contrary opinion with all their devices, and altering of Lawes, shall prove themselves true Subjects; I pray you my Lords, and the rest of the Council, no more to unquiet and trouble me with matters touching my conscience, wherein I am at a full point with Gods help, whatsoever shall happen to me, intending with his grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I think to live, in quietnesse; and I pray for the King's Majesty, and all you, heartily wishing, that your proceedings may be to Gods honour, the safeguard of the King's person, and quietnesse of the whole Realm. And thus, my Lords, I wish unto you, and all the rest, as well to do, as my selfe.

Upon such passages of this Letter, which seemed most to pinch upon them, the Lords returned their Glasse or Comment, but such as had more in it of an Animadversion, then an Explication. They signified withall, how well they understood their own Authority; how sensible they were of those inconveniences, which the example of her inconformity to the lawes established, was likely to produce amongst the rest of the subjects. No favour being otherwise to be hoped for from them, the Emperour is moved to intercede in her behalfe by his Ambassador, then residing about the Court. Upon whose earnest solicitation, it was declared by the King, with the consent of his Council (as appeareth by their letters to her, of the 25th of December) "That for his sake, and her own also, it should be suffered and winked at, if she had the private Masse used in her own closter for a season, untill she might be better informed; but so that none but some few of her own chamber should be present with her, and that to all the rest of her household, the Service of the Church should be only used. For the abuse of which indulgence, in saying Masse promiscu-
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cruelly (in her absence) to her household servants, *Males* and *Barkley* two of her Chaplains, are seized on, and committed prisoners, which first occasioned an exchange of Letters betwixt her and the King, and afterwards more frequently between her and the Council; for which, consult the Acts and Mon. fol. 1213. 1214. A proposition had been made about the surrendry of *Bol-leigne*, for a marriage betwixt her and the Prince of *Portugall*; and the like motion made in favour of the Duke of *Brunswick*, whilst the other treaty was depending. But neither of the two succeeding to the wish of the party, a plot was laid to passe her over into *Flanders*; shipping provided to transport her, some of her servants sent before, and a commotion practised in the County of *Essex*; that in the bustle she might be conveyed away without any discovery. But this plot being happily prevented by the care and diligence of Sir *John Gates*, one of the Captains of the *Genis a' armes* (then lately ranged under the command of the Marquess of *Northampton*) she was by him conducted much against her will, to the Lord Chancellors house at *Leeds*, from thence to *Hunsdon*, and at last to *Westminster*. Much troubled at her coming thither, upon the apprehension of Sir *Robert Rochester*, Sir *Walgrave*, and Sir *Francis Inglesfield*, servants of special trust about her, and all suspected to be privy to the design, for conveying her over into *Flanders*.

Much care was taken, and many endeavors used by the King and Council, to win her to a good conceit of the Reformation. But her interest was to bound up with that of the Pope, that no persuasions could prevail with her to desert that cause, on which her own *legitimation*, and the validity of her mothers marriage, did so much depend. As much unprofitable pains was taken by the Emperours Agents, in labouring to procure for her, the exercise of her own Religion; mingling some threats with their intreaties, in case so great a Prince should be refused in so small a suit. Which when it could not be obtained from the King, by the Lords of the Council, nor by the mediation of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *London*, (whom the Lords employed to move him in it); the Emperour laid aside the prosecution of a cause, which he perceived he could not carry. And the King slackned by degrees, his accustomed diligence, in labouring by persuasions to work on one who was resolved before hand not to be persuaded. So that being weary of the Court, and the Court of her, she was permitted for a time to remain at *Hunsdon*, in the County of *Hartford*. To which place (being in the Diocese of *London*) Bishop *Ridley* had recourse unto her, and at first was kindly entertained. But having staid dinner at her request, he made an offer of his service, to preach before her on the Sunday following; to which she answered, *That the doors of the Parish Church adjoining, should be open for him, that he might preach there if he listed; but that neither she nor any of her servants, would be there to hear him.* Madam, said he, I hope you will not refuse to hear Gods word. To which she answered, *That she could not tell what they called Gods word; that which was now called the word of God, was not having been accounted such in the days of her father.* After which, falling into many different expressions against the Religion then established, she dismissed him thus. *My Lord, said she. For your gentleness to come and see me; I thank you; but for your offer to preach before me, I thank you not.* Which said, he was conducted by Sir *Thomas Watson*, one of her principall Officers, to the place where they dined, by whom he was presented with a cup of wine; which having drank, and looking very sadly on it, *Surely, said he, I have done amiss, in drinking in that place, where Gods word offered was refused. Whereas if I had done my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken the dust from off my feet, in testimony against this house, in which the word of God could not find admittance.* Which words he spake with such a vehemency of spirit, as made the hair of some of those which were present, to stand an end, as themselves afterwards confessed.

Of this behavior of the Princess, as the Bishop much complained in other places; so most especially in a Sermon preached at *St. Pauls Crosse*, on the sixteenth

1552.

1553.

An. Reg.
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sixteenth of July; in which he was appointed by the Lords of the Council, to set forth the title of Queen *Jane*, to whom the succession of the Crown had been transferred by King *Edward*, at the solicitation and procurement of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who served himself of nothing more, than of her obstinate avernesse from the reformed Religion, then by law established. The cunning contrivance of which plot, and all that had been done in pursuance of it, hath been laid down at large in the *Appendix* to the former book. Suffice in this place to know, that being secretly advertised of her brothers death, she dispatched her letters of the ninth of July, to the Lords of the Council, requiring them not only to acknowledge her just title to the Crown of this Realm, but to cause proclamation of it to be made in the usual form; which though it was denied by them, as the case then stood, yet she was gratified therein by the Mayor of *Notwich*, who first proclaimed her Queen, on the fourth day after; as afterwards was done in some other places, by those who did prefer the interest of King *Henry's* children, before that of the *Dudley's*. But hearing of the great preparations which were made against her, and finding her condition in a manner desperate, when she first put her self into *Framingham* Castle, she faithfully assured the Gentry, and other inhabitants of the County of *Suffolk*, that she would not alter the Religion which had been settled and confirmed in the Reign of her brother. On which assurance, there was such a confluence to her from those parts of the Kingdom, that in short space she had an army of fourteen thousand fighting men to maintain her quarrel. The newes whereof, together with the risings of the people in other places on the same account, wrought such an alteration in the Lords of the Council, whom she had before solicited in vain to allow her title, that on the nineteenth of July, she was solemnly proclaimed Queen at *Cheapside* Crosse; not only by their general and joint consent, but by the joyful acclamations of all sorts of people. But as Mariners seldom pay those vows which they make in a tempest, when once they are delivered from the danger of it; so *Mary* once established in the Royal Throne, forgot the services which she received from those of *Suffolk*, together with the promises which she made unto them in the case of Religion. Insomuch, that afterwards being petitioned by them in that behalf, it was answered with more churlishnesse than could be rationally expected in a green Estate, *That members must obey their Head, and not look to rule it*. And that she might no more be troubled with the like Petitions, she caused one *Dobb*, a Gentleman on *Windham* side, who had presumed to put her in remembrance of her former promise, to be punished by standing in the Pillory three dayes together, to be a gazing stock to all men. But such is the condition of our humane nature, that we are far more ready to require a favour, when we stand in need of it, than willing to acknowledge or requite it, when our turn is served. Of which we cannot easily meet with a clearer evidence, than the example of this Queen; who was so far from gratifying those who had been most aiding to her in the time of her trouble, that she persecuted them, and all others of the same persuasions, with fire and faggot, as by the sequel of her story will at large appear.



The Life and Reign OF QUEEN MARY.

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He interposings in behalf of the Lady *Jane* being distastish-
ed generally in most parts of the Kingdome, *Mary* the
eldest sister of King *Edward* the first is proclaimed Queen
by the Lords of the Council, assisted by the Lord Mayor
of *London*, and such of the Nobility as were then resident
about that City, on *Wednesday* the nineteenth day of *July*,
Anno 1553. The Proclamation published at the Crosse
in *Chertsey*, with all solemnities accustomed on the like oc-
casions; and entertained with joyfull acclamations by all sorts of people, who
feared nothing more, than the pride and tyranny of the Duke of *Northumber-
land*. To carry which news to the Queen at *Framingham*, the Earl of *Arundel*,
and the Lord *Payet*, are dispatched immediately by the rest of the Council, and
Letters are speedily posted by some private friends to the Duke at *Cambridge*.
Who understanding how things went, without expecting any order from the
Lords at *London*, dismiss the remnant of his Army, and presently repairing
into the Market place, proclaimed the Queen, crying, *God save Queen Mary*,
as loud as any, and flinging up his cap for joy, as the others did. Which ser-
vice he had scarce performed, when *Rose* a Pursuivant of Arms comes to him
with instructions from the Lords of the Council, subscribed by the Arch-
bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Goodrick*, the Lord Treasurer *Paul*,
the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Bedford*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Pembroke*,
the Lord *Darby*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *William Peter*, and Sir *William Cecil*,
the two principall Secretaries, Sir *John Cheek*, Tutor to the last King, Sir
John Baker, Chancellor of the tenth and first fruits, Sir *John Mason*, Master
of the Requests, *R. Bowes*, Master of the Rolls. Most of which had formerly
subscribed the answer to a Letter which came to them from the Princessse *Mary*,
on the ninth of *July*, and were all pardoned for so doing, except *Cranmer*
only. Now the Tenor of the said *Proclamations*, was as followeth.

In the name of our Sovereign Lady Mary the Queen, to be declared to the Duke of Northumberland, and all other his Band, of what degree soever they be.

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You shall command and charge in the Queens Highnesse name, the said Duke to disarm himselfe, and to cease all his war, and to suffer no part of his army to do any wilany, nor any thing contrary to the peace; and himselfe to forbear his coming to this City, untill the Queens pleasure be expressly declared unto him. And if he will shew himselfe like a good quiet subject, we will then continue as we have begun, as humble suitors to our Sovereign Lady the Queens Highnesse. For him and his, and for our selves. And if he do not, we will not fail to spend our lives in subduing of him and his.

Item, Te shall declare the like matter to the Marquesse of Northampton, and all other Noble men, and Gentlemen, and to all men of war, being with any of them.

Item, Te shall in all places where ye come, notify it; If the Duke of Northumberland do not submit himselfe to the Queens Highnesse, Queen Mary: he shall be accepted as a Traitor. And all we of the Nobility, that were Counsellors to the late King, will to the utmost portion of our power, persecute him and his to their after-confession.

The Pursuivant having communicated his Instructions, found none more ready to obey them, then the Duke himselfe, who had before dismissed his forces, and now prepared for his departure from that place, though to what he knew not. But as he was pulling on his boots, he was first stayd by some of the Pensioners, who being drawn into the action against their will, resolved to have him in a readinesse to bear witness to it; and after taken into custody by Slegg, a Serjeant. The businesse being in dispute, another Packer comes from the Lords of the Council, by which all parties were required to depart to their severall dwellings: the benefit whereof the Duke laid claim to for himself, and was accordingly left by them at his own disposal. And so he passed that night in some good assurance, that he should fare no worse than the rest of the Council, who had engaged him in the same cause, and by whose order he had undertaken the command of that Army. In the mean time, the Earl of Arundell had done his errand to the Queen, to so good a purpose, that he was presently dispatched with Order to seize upon him. Who coming to Cambridge the next morning, found him preparing for his journey, laid hold upon him, and committed him to the charge of some of the Guard. It is reported, that the Duke had no sooner seen the Earle of Arundell, but he fell down upon his knees, and besought him to be good unto him, humbling himselfe before him with more abjectednesse, than formerly he had insulted over him with pride and insolence. By safe, but easie journeyes, he is brought unto the Tower on the 25 day of July, together with the Earle of Warwick, the Earle of Huntingdon, the Lord Hastings; the Lord Ambrose, and the Lord Henry Dudley, two of Northumberlands younger sons; Sir Andrew Dudley, the Dukes brother, Sir John Gates, and Henry Gates his brother, Sir Thomas Palmer (who formerly had served his turn in the destruction of the Duke of Somerset), and Dr Sanders Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Followed the next day after by the Marquesse of Northampton, Dr Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, the Lord Robert Dudley, another of Northumberland's sons, and Sir Robert Carter; who having made their Applications to the Queen at Framingham, found there no better entertainment, than if they had been taken in some act of Hostility. The 27 day brings in Sir Roger Cholmer, Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, and Sir Edward Mowbray, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir John Cook, on the morrow after shutting up the Arrear. But the Duke of Suffolk stayed not long: for being considered in

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himself as an easie person, of whom they were to fear no danger, and otherwise no more in fault than the rest of the Council; he was released again within three dayes after, to the great comfort of his daughter, the late Queen Jane, who would have died dayly for her Father, though but once for her self.

But so it fared not with the Duke of *Northumberland*, a more dangerous person; who, together with John Earl of *Warwick*, his eldest son, and *William Marquisse of Northampton*, was brought to their tryal on the eighth of *August*, before *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, then sitting as Lord High Steward in *Westminster Hall*. The Duke being brought unto the bar, humbled himself with great reverence before his Peers, professing his faith and allegiance to the Queen; against whom he confessed he had so grievously offended, that he intended not to speak any thing in his own defence. But having been trained up to the study of the Laws in his younger dayes, he desired the judgement of the Court in these two points. First, *Whether any man doing any act by Authority of the Princes Council, and by warrant of the Great Seal of England, and doing nothing withouts the same, might be charged with treason, for any thing which he might do by warrant thereof.* And secondly, (which pinched then his Judges to some purpose) *Whether any such persons as were equally culpable in the crime, and those by whose Letters and Commandments he was directed in all his doings, might sit as Judges, and passe upon his trial as his Peers.* Whereunto it was answered by the Court, with advice of the Judges. First, *That the Great Seal which he pretended for his warrant, was not the Seal of the lawful Queen of the Realm, but the Seal of an Usurper, who had no authority, and therefore could be no warrant to him.* And secondly, *That if any were as deeply to be touched in the case as himself; yet so long as no attainder was upon Record against them, they were looked upon by the Law, as persons capable of passing upon any trial, and not to be challenged by any in that respect, but only at the Prince's pleasure.* Which being delivered by the Court in point of Law, the Duke conceived that it would be to no purpose for him to plead *Not Guilty*, and thereupon confessed the Indictment, as the other two prisoners also did; they all received judgement in the usual form. On the pronouncing whereof, he besought the Lords to move the Queen, that she would be gracious to his sons, who might be able to do good service in the time to come; considering that they went not with him of their own free will, but only in obedience to his commands, who was their Father; in which as his desires were granted by the Lords, so the Lords were gratified in them by the Queen; none of his sons being executed (though all condemned) except *Guilford* only, whose case was different from the others. The like judgement also pass'd on the morrow after, on *Sir John Gates*, *Sir Henry Gates*, *Sir Andrew Dudley*, and *Sir Thomas Palmer*, who confessing the Indictment also, submitted themselves to the Queens mercy, without further tryal.

In that short interval, which past between the sentence, and the execution, the Duke was frequently visited by *Dr Nicholas Heath*, then newly restored unto the See of *Worcester*. It was another of the requests which he made to the Lords, that some godly and learned man, might be licenced by the Queen, to repair unto him, for the quiet and satisfaction of his conscience; and she resolved to send him none (as she did to others in like case) but one of her own, under a pretence of doing good unto their souls, by gaining them to a right understanding of the faith in Christ. According to which purpose, *Heath* bestirs himself with such dexterity, that the Duke, either out of weaknesse, or hope of life, or that it was indifferent to him in what Faith he died, who had shewn so little while he lived, retracted that Religion which he had adorned in the time of King *Edward*, and outwardly professed for some years in the Reign of King *Henry*. And hereof he gave publick notice when he was on the scaffold, on the 23 of that month. In the way rowards which, there passed some words betwixt him and *Guis*, each laying the blame of the late action on the other;

other; but afterwards mutually forgiving, and being forgiven, they died in good charity with one another. Turning himself unto the people, he made a long Oration to them, touching the quality of his offence, and his fore-passed life, and then admonished the spectators, *To stand to the Religion of their Ancestors, rejecting that of later date, which had occasioned all the misery of the foregoing thirty years; and that for prevention for the future, if they desired to preserve their souls unspotted in the sight of God, and were truly affected to their Country, they should expel those trumpets of Sedition, the Preachers of the reformed Religion; that for himself, whatever had otherwise been pretended, he professed no other Religion than that of his Fathers, for testimony whereof, he appealed to his good friend, and ghostly father, the Lord Bishop of Worcester; and finally, that being blinded with ambition, he had been contented to make rack of his conscience, by temporising, for which he professed himself sincerely repentant, and so acknowledged the justice of his death.* A declaration very unseasonable, whether true or false; as that which render'd him less pitied by the one side, and more scorned by the other. With him died also *Gaux and Palmer*, the rest of the condemned prisoners being first reprieved, and afterwards absolutely pardoned.

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Such was the end of this great person, the first Earl of *Warwick*, and the last Duke of *Northumberland*, of this Name and Family. By birth he was the eldest son of Sir *Edmond Sutton*, alias *Dudley*, who together with Sir *Richard Empson*, were the chief instruments and promoters under *Henry* the 7th. for putting the penal lawes in execution, to the great grievance and oppression of all sorts of subjects. For which, and other offences of a higher nature, they were both sacrificed to the fury of the common people, by King *Henry* the 8th. which possible might make him carry a vindicative mind towards that King's children, and prompt him to the dis-inheriting of all his Progeny. First trained up (as his Father had also been before him) in the study of the Common Laws, which made him cunning enough to pick holes in any mans estate, and to find wayes by which to bring their lives in danger. But finding that the long sword was of more estimation than the long Robe, in the time of that King, he put himself forwards on all actions, wherein honour was to be acquired. In which he gave such testimony of his judgement and valour, that he gained much on the affections of his Prince. By whom he was created Viscount *Lisle*, on the 15th. of *March*, An. 1541. installed Knight of the Garter, 1543. and made Lord Admiral of *England*. Employed in many actions against the *Scots*, he came off alwayes with successe and victory; and having said this, we have said all, that was accounted good or commendable in the whole course of his life. Being advanced unto the Title of Earl of *Warwick*, by King *Edward* the 6th, he thought himself in a capacity of making Queens, as well as *Richard Nevil* (one of his Predecessors in that Title) had been of setting up and deposing Kings; and they both perished under the ambition of those proud attempts. Punished as *Nevil* also was, in having no issue male remaining to preserve his name. For though he had six sons, all of them living to be men, and all of them to be married men, yet they went all childlesse to the grave. I mean as to the having of lawful issue, as if the curse of *Jecmijah* had been laid upon them. With him died also the proud Title of Duke of *Northumberland*; never aspired to by the *Percies*, though men of eminent Nobility, and ever since the time of King *Henry* the first, of the Race of Emperours: Which Family, as well in reference to the merit of their Noble Ancestors, as the intercession of some powerful friends, were afterwards restored to all the Titles and Honours, which belonged to that House, in the persons of *Thomas* and *Henry*, Grand children to *Henry* the 5th. Earl thereof, An. 1557.

The matters being thus laid together, we must next look back upon the Queen. Who seeing all obstacles removed betwixt her and the Crown, dissolved her Camp at *Framingham*, consisting of fourteen thousand men; and prepared for her journey towards *London*. Met on the way by the Princeesse *Elizabeth* her sister, attended with no fewer than 1000 horse, She made her entrance

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entrance into London, on the third of August, no less magnificent for the Pomp and bravery of it, than that of any of her predecessors. Taking possession of the Tower, she was first welcomed thither, by Thomas, the old Duke of Norfolk, Anne Dutcheſſe of Sommerſet, Edward Lord Courteney, eldest ſon to the late Marqueſſe of Exceſter, and Dr Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter; all which ſhe liſted from the ground, called them her priſoners, graciously kiſſed them, and reſtored them ſhortly after to their former liberty. Taking the Great Seal from Dr Goodrick, Biſhop of Ely, within two dayes after, ſhe gave it for the preſent, to the cuſtody of Sir Nicholas Hare, whom ſhe made Maſter of the Rolls, and afterwards committed it, on the 23d. of the ſame month, together with the Title of Lord Chancellor, on the ſaid Dr Gardiner, then actually reſtored to the See of Wincheſter. Having performed the obſequies of her brother, on the 9th. and 10th. ſhe removes her Court unto Whitehall, and there continues, till it was within two or three dayes of her Coronation. Which time now drawing neer at hand, ſhe paſſed by water to the Tower, on the 17th. of September, accompanied by her Siſter, the Princeſſe Elizabeth, and a great train of Noble Ladies; made her return through the principal ſtreets of the City, on the laſt of the ſame month, in moſt ſtately manner; and the next day proceeded with the like magnificence, to the Abby Church; where ſhe was met by three ſilver Croſſes, and eighty ſinging men, all in rich and gorgeous Coaps, (ſo ſudden a recruit was made of theſe ſacred Veſtments); amongſt whom went the new Dean of Weſtmiſter, Dr Weſter, and divers Chaplains of her own, each of them bearing in their hands ſome Enſign or other. After them marched ten Biſhops (which were as many as remained of her perſuaſion) with their Miters, rich Coaps, and Croſier ſtaves. The Sermon was preached by Dr Day, whom ſhe had reſtored to the See of Chicheſter, and the ſolemnity of the Coronation, celebrated by the new Lord Chancellor: Crammer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being then committed, and otherwiſe conceived unworthy of ſo great an honour. Till this time, none more dear to her than her Siſter Elizabeth, whom ſhe alwayes took with her by the hand, whereſoever ſhe went, and ſeldome dined or ſupped without her. But this ſolemnity being paſſed over (as if ſhe were now freed from all the fears of a competition) ſhe eſtranged her ſelf from her in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed that ſhe had formerly deſired her company for ſome by-reſpects, and not out of natural affection. More grateful unto other perſons, who deſerved well of her; ſhe preferred Henry Ratcliff, Earle of Suſſex (Commander Generall of her Army) to the Society of the Garter, which Honour ſhe conferred on his ſon Thomas after his deceaſe, and to be covered in her Preſence, at all times and places, tending to the cuſtome of the Grandees in the Realm of Spain. Which privilege not being very frequent in the Politie of the Realm of England, I find to be recorded in theſe following words, viz.

Mary by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth the Supream Head; To all, to whom this preſent writing ſhall come, ſenderth Greeting in our Lord everlaſting. Know ye, that We do give and pardon to Our wel-beloved and truſty Coſen, and one of Our Privy Council, Henry Earle of Suſſex, and Viſcount Fitzwater, Lord Egremond and Burnel, Liberty, Licenſes and Pardon, to wear his Cap, Corſe, or Night-cap, or two of them at his pleaſure, as well in Our preſence, as in the preſence of any other perſon, or perſons within this Our Realm, or any other place of Our Dominion whatſoever, during his life; and theſe Our Letters ſhall be his ſufficient Warrant in this behalf. Given under Our Sign Manual, at Our Palace of Weſtmiſter, 7. Octob. 1. Regni.

With the like Royal grante, ſhe advanced the Earle of Arundel, who had deſerved as well of her in the Council, as the Earle of Suſſex in the Camp, to the Place or Office of Lord Steward; inveſting him with all thoſe powers and privileges,

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privileges, which had been formerly exercised by the Lord Great Master, whom he succeeded in Authority, though not in Title. Sir Edward Hastings, who came over to her with 4000 men, she first made Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter, and afterwards Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and Lord Hastings of Lauchborough. Sir John Williams, who had done her very good service in Buckingham and Oxford shires, she honoured with the Title of Lord Williams of Fame; of which more hereafter. Sir Henry Jerningham, who first appeared in Norfolk for her, she preferred to be Captain of her Guard, as soon as he came unto the Crown; and toward the latter end of her Reign, Sir Thomas Thresham was created Lord Prior of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, and consequently according to the old pretension, the first Baron of England. And as for her domestique servants who had suffered with her, she thought it no unseemly decorum, that they should in part Reign with her also. To which end she preferred Hepton her old Chaplain, to the See of Norwich, Rochester to be Comptroller of her Household, Ingisfield to be Master of the Wards, and Wedgerave to be Master of the Wardrobe, which is sufficient to declare, that she was willing to comply with all obligations, and not to be too long in debt to her greatest subjects, but much lesse to her menial servants. But in regard that all these were considered for their personal merits, nor in reference only to their zeal for the Catholick Cause, she was to shew some act of favour unto those of that party, which might create a confidence in them of her good affections. To which end she made choice of Sir John Gage (a man most zealously addicted to the Church of Rome) to be Lord Chamberlain of her Household, when she came first to the Tower, to the great satisfaction of all those of that Religion. And that she might in some measure also oblige the rest of her subjects; and make the entrance of her Reign the more pleasing to them, her Coronation was accompanied with a general pardon, at the least in shew. One of which all prisoners in the Tower, such as remained in the Fleet, together with sixty others, being excepted, and the restrictions and provisos (with which it was in all parts clogged) being well observed, there were not many, especially of those whom it most concerned, that could create unto themselves any benefit by it.

Thus was the Civil State established on a right foundation, and the succession settled most agreeably to the Laws of Nature, according to the last Will and Testament of King Henry the 8th, and the Laws made in that behalf. But we shall see the pillars of the Church removed, the very foundation of it shaken, and the whole fabrick of Religion so demolished, that scarce one stone thereof did seem to stand upon the other; without regard unto the Laws, and contrary to the will and purpose of King Edward the 6th. At the Queens first entrance into London, on the third of August, she discharged Gardiner of the Tower, as she did Bonner of the Marshalsey, and Bishop Tunstall from the Kings Bench within two dayes after. To make way to whose restitution to their former Sees, Bishop Ridley is removed from London, Bishop Pritchard from Winchester, and an Act of Parliament procured for the restoring of the Church of Durham, to all its Lands, Prebeminences, and Jurisdictions, of which it stood divested by the late Act of Dissolution, made in the last year of the King deceased. By the like power, was Coverdale displaced from the See of Exeter, Sney from that of Chichester, and Hooper dispossessed of that Jurisdiction, which he held as the Comendatory of the See of Worcester; to which See, Vayssier, Day, and Heath, were again restored. The like course also followed, for the depriving of all Deans, Dignitaries, and Parochial Ministers, who had succeeded into any of those preferments, during the Reign of the two last Kings, the old incumbents whereof were then found living, and able to supply their places. Which though it could not be objected against Dr Cox, either in reference to his Deuty of Christ Church, or that of Westminster, (both which he held at the same time) yet being brought unto the Marshalsey, on the 2th. of August, he was unjustly spoiled of both, to make room for Dr Richard

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Marshall in the one, and *Dr Hugh Wotton* in the other. And all this done without so much as any shew of legal processe, or the conventing of the persons whom it did concern, or any satisfaction given unto the Laws, (which in some cases favour possession more than right) so strangely violated.

But greater was the havock which was made amongst them, when there was any colour or pretence of Law, as in the case of having wives, or not conforming to the Queens pleasure in all points of Religion; considering how forward and pragmatrical too many were, to run before the Laws in the like particular. The Queen was zealous in her way, and by her interest, strongly by-assed to the Church of *Rome*. But it concerned her to be wary, and not to presse too much at once upon the people, which generally were well affected to the Reformation. Of this she had a stout experiment, within very few dayes after her first entrance into *London*. For so it hapned, that *Dr Bourne*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, and one of the Prebends of *St Paul's*, preaching a Sermon at the Crosse, on the 13th. of *August*, inveighed in favour of Bishop *Bonner*, who was present at it, against some proceedings in the time of the late King *Edward*. Which so incensed the people, that suddenly a great tumult arose upon it; some pelting him with stones, others crying out aloud, pull him down, pull him down, and one (who never could be known) flinging a dagger at his head, which after was found sticking in a post of the Pulpit. And greater had the mischief been upon this occasion, if *Mr Bradford* and *Mr Rogers*, two eminent Preachers in the time of King *Edward*, and of great credit and esteem with the common people, had not endeavoured to appease the enraged multitude, and with great difficulty secured the Preacher in the School adjoining. By reason of which tumult, an Order was taken by the Lords of the Council, with the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, that they calling the next day following a Common Council of the City, should thereby charge every householdier, to cause their children and Apprentices, to keep their own Parish Churches, upon the Holy dayes, and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace. Willing them also to signifie to the said Assembly, the Queens determination uttered to them by her Highnesse, the 12th. of *August*, in the Tower. Which was, That albeit her Grace's conscience was staid in matters of Religion; yet she gratically meant not to compel or strain other mens, otherwise than God should (as she trusted) put into their hearts a perswasion of that truth which she was in, through the opening of his word unto them, by godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers; that is to say, such Preachers only, as were to be hereafter licenced by the Queen's authority.

But yet for fear that these instructions might not edifie with the common people, Order was taken for preventing the like tumult on the Sunday following. At what time the Sermon was preached by *Dr Wotton* (who afterwards was Bishop of *Lincoln*, but Chaplain only at that time to the Bishop of *Winchester*). For whose security, not only many of the Lords of the Council, that is to say, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lords, *Wentworth* and *Rich*, were severally desired to be there present; but *Gerningham*, Captain of the Guard, was appointed with two hundred of his stoutest Yeomen, to stand round about him with their Halberds. The Mayor had also taken Order, that all the Companies in their Liveries should be present at it, which was well taken by the Queen. And because the comming of the Guard on the one side affrighted some, and the Order of the Lords above mentioned had restrained others from comming to those publick Sermons; it was commanded by the Lord Mayor, that the Ancients of all Companies should give attendance at those Sermons for the time to come, lest otherwise the Preachers might be discouraged at the sight of so thin an Auditory. The safety of those publick Preachers being thus provided for by the Lords of the Council, there next care was, that nothing should be preached in private Churches, contrary to the Doctrine which was,

and should be taught at the Crofs by them which were appointed to it. Whereupon it was further Ordered, that every Alderman in his Ward, should forthwith send for the Curates of every Church within their Liberties, and warn them not only to forbear preaching themselves; but also not to suffer any other to preach, or make any open or solemn reading of Scripture in their Churches, unless the said Preachers were severally licenced by the Queen. To which purpose Letters were directed also to the Bishop of *Norwich*, and possibly to all other Bishops in their several Diocesses. But nothing more discovers the true state and temper of the present time, than a Proclamation published by the Queen, on the 18th. of *August*. The Tenor of which is as followeth.

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The Queen's Highnesse well remembring what great inconvenience and dangers, have grown to this her Rea'm in times past, through the diversities of opinions in Questions of Religion; and hearing also that now of late, since the beginning of her most gracious Reign, the same contentions be again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports, and rumours spread by some evil-disposed persons, hath thought good to give to understand to all Her Highnesse's most loving subjects, her most gracious pleasure in manner following.

First, Her Majesty being presently by the only goodness of God, settled in her just possession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and other Dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that Religion, which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto. Which as her Majesty is minded to observe and maintain for her self by God's grace, during her time; so doth her Highnesse much desire, and would be glad the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably entertained.

And yet she doth signifie unto all her Majestie's loving subjects, that of Her most gracious disposition and clemency, Her Highnesse mindeth not to compel any Her said subjects therewith, until such time as further Order by common assent may be taken therein: Forbidding nevertheless all her subjects, of all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or stir unquietness in her people, by interpreting the Laws of this Realm, after their brains and fantasies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is said) further Order may be taken, and therefore willeth, and straightly chargeth and commandeth, all her good loving subjects, to live together in quiet sort, and Christian Charity, leaving those new found devilish terms, of Papist and Heretick, and such like; and applying their whole care, study and travail, to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and Godly doing, as their lives may indeed express the great hunger and thirst of God's glory; which by rash talk and words, many have pretended: And in so doing, they shall best please God, and live without danger of the Laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the Realm. Whereof as her highnesse shall be most glad, so if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any publick assemblies, or otherwise, shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished, according to her Highnesse's Lawes.

And furthermore, forasmuch as it is well known, that sedition and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this Realm, by the subtilty and malice of some evil-disposed persons, which take upon them without sufficient authority, to preach and to interpret the word of God, after their own brains, in Churches, and other places, both publick and private, and also by playing of Interludes, and Printing of false fond Books, and Ballads, Rimes, and other lewd Treatises in the English Tongue, containing Doctrine in matters now in question, and controversies touching the high points and mysteries in Christian Religion; which Books, Ballads, Rimes, and Treatises, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers, set out to sale to her Graces subjects, of an evil zeal for lucre and covetousnesse of vile gain: Her Highnesse therefore straightly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her said subjects, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume from hence-

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forth, to preach, or by way of reading in Churches, or other publick or private places, except in Schools of the University, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of Doctrine concerning Religion. Neither also to Print any Book, Matter, Ballad, Rime, Enterlude, Proesse or Treatise, nor to play any Enterlude, except they have her Graces special Licence in writing for the same, upon pain to incur her Highnesse indignation and displeasure.

It cannot be denied, but that this Proclamation was very cautiously and cunningly penned; giving encouragement enough to those which had a mind to outrun the Law, or otherwise to conform themselves to the Queen's Religion, to follow their own course therein, without dread or danger; and yet commanding nothing contrary to the Lawes established, which might give trouble or offence to the other party. For hereupon many of the people shewed themselves so ready for receiving their old Religion, that in many places of the Realm, before any Law was made for the same, they erected again their Altars, and used the Masse, and Latin Service, in such sort as was wont to be in King Henry's time. Which was so well taken by the Queen, that all such as stood upon the Lawes which were made to the contrary before, had a mark of displeasure set upon them. Which being observed by some of the Clergy, they were as forward as the rest, in setting up the Pageants of St Catherine, and St Nicholas, formerly erected in the Chancels, and to set forth their Processions, (which they celebrated in the Latin tounge) with their old solemnities, contrary to the Lawes and Ordinances of King Edward's time. All which irregular activities in the Priest and People, were sheltered under the name of setting forward the *Queens proceedings*. And by that name the official of the Arch-Deacon of Ely, gave it in charge amongst the Articles of his visitation, that the Church Wardens should present all such as did disturb the *Queens proceedings*, in letting the Latin Service, setting up of Altars, saying of Masse, &c. But more particularly at Cambridge, the Vicechancellor, challenged one *Pierston*, on the 3d. of October, for officiating the communion in his own Parish Church, in the English tounge; and on the 26. displaced Dr *Maden*, Master of *Clare Hall*, for being married, though they had both as much authority on their side, as the Lawes could give them. In like manner some of the Popish party in King's Colledge (not tarrying the making of any Law) on the 28th. of the same, officiated the Divine Service in the Latin tounge; and on the 6th. of November then next following, a Sermon is preached openly at St Michaels, contrary to the Lawes in that behalf, not as then repealed. Not altogether so eager on the scent at Oxon, as they were at Cambridge, though with more difficulty brought at first to the Reformation. Only it pleased Dr *Tresham*, one of the Canons of Christ Church, of the last foundation, to cause the great bell there to be new cast, and christned by the name of *Mary*; much comforting himself with the melodious sound thereof, when it toll'd to Masse; which *Marshal* the new Dean, by his help and counsel, had again restored.

But these were only the Essays of those alterations, which generally were intended in all parts of the Church, as soon as the times were ripe for them, and the people fitted to receive them; in order whereunto, it was not thought sufficient to displace the Bishops, and silence the Old Protestant Preachers also, unless they brought them under some exemplary punishment, that others might be terrified from the outward profession of that truth, out of which they could not be disputed. Of *Ridley's* being brought prisoner to the Tower, and of *Coxe's* committing to the *Marshalsey*, we have spoke before. On the 22d. of August Letters are sent from the Lords of the Council, commanding Bishop *Coverdale*, and Bishop *Hooper*, to appear before them. By whom (after two or three appearances) committed to their several Prisons; the one reserved for the stake, the other sent upon request to the King of Denmark. On the 5th. of September, the like Letters are dispatched to old Bishop *Latimer*, committed close prisoner to the Tower, on the 8th. day after; followed the next morning by

by Archbishop *Cranmer*, whose Story doth require a more particular account, of which more anon. *Hayley* of *Hersford* (to which he had been consecrated in *May* foregoing) and *Taylor* of *Lincoln*, another of the last of King *Edward's* Bishops, were present at the opening of the Parliament on the 10th of *October*. But no sooner was the Mass began (though not then restored by any Law) than they left the Church. For which the Bishop of *Lincoln* being first examined, and making profession of his Faith, prevented the malice of his enemies by a timely death. And *Harley* upon information of his marriage, was presently excluded from the Parliament House, and not long after from his Bishoprick also. Which being observed by Bishop *Barlow* of *Wells*, and *Scory* of *Chichester*, they withdrew themselves beyond the Seas; followed not long after by Bishop *Poynett* of *Winchester*. But *Barlow* made not so much haste, as not to be committed to the Fleet, by the Lords of the Council, from whence upon some satisfaction given to the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*, by his discrete and moderate Answers, he was not long after set at liberty, and so crossed the seas; resolved to trust himself no more to a second hazard, having with so much difficulty escaped the first. How it succeeded with the rest, we shall see hereafter. Upon which smiting of the Shepherds, it is not to be wondered at, if their flocks were scattered.

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Now as concerning the Archbishop, the substance of his story is briefly this. He had been a chief instrument in King *Henry's* time; of setting forward the divorce; and in King *Edward's*, of advancing the Reformation. The Queen conceived hereon such a high displeasure (it had been malice in another) against the man, that nothing but his death could appease the same. His death is therefore fully resolved upon, by *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and the rest of the Popish Prelates. Of which the first had prosecuted the Divorce as far as any; and the second was as forward as the best in the Reformation, as long as *Cromwel* lived to prefer and countenance him. But their standings out, and sufferings for it in King *Edward's* time, were thought sufficient expiations for their former errors; when the good Offices which *Cranmer* had done for her in her Fathers time, were worn out of memory. Die then he must; but by what law he was to die, proved a knot more difficult, than could be speedily untied. It was advised to charge him with High Treason, as being privy to the plot of the Duke of *Northumberland*, for excluding the Queen from the succession. But against this it was objected, that he was the last of the Council who subscribed unto it; and that the Council would be wary of making that a Capital offence in him, of which they were all equally guilty. In the next place it was propounded, to proceed against him in case of Heresie, that being the most likely way to content the Pope, whose favour was to be procured by all means imaginable. But the worst was, that the Statutes made in the time of King *Richard* 2d. and King *Henry* 4th. for putting Hereticks to death, had been abrogated in the time of King *Henry* 8th. as that of the six Articles, more terrible than either of the other two had been, repealed by the late King *Edward* the 6th. No better course therefore, than to find some occasion for laying him up in some safe prison; and when they had him there, to proceed against him as time and opportunity should administer some fit matter for it.

About this time a bruit was raised, that *Cranmer* to ingratiate himself with the Queen, had promised to celebrate the Exequies of the deceased King, according to the *Romish* manner. To clear himself of which reproach, he drew up a Manifest, declaring in the same, that he was ready to maintain the Articles of Religion, set forth by his procurement in the time of King *Edward*, to be consonant to the word of God, the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the practice of the best and purest times. These papers lying in the window in his private chamber, were seen and liked by Bishop *Scory*, by whom they were transcribed and communicated to many others. Coming at last unto the knowledge of the Council, the Archbishop is commanded to appear before them. Interrogated about the papers, and prompted by Bishop *Haile*, who was then

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amongst them, to let them know whether he were not sorry for it. To which the Archbishop made reply, that as he did not deny himself to be the author of those papers, so he must needs confesse himself to be sorry that they went from him in such sort as they did. For I had purposed, saith he, to set out the *Manifest* in a more large and ample manner; and to have it set upon St Paul's door, and the doors of all the Churches in London, with my own Seal affixed unto it. Upon which stout and honest answer, they thought fit to dismiss him for the present: it being conceived by some of the more moderate spirits, that it would be punishment enough to deprive him only of his Bishoprick, and to assign him a sufficient maintenance upon the exhibiting of a true Inventory of his whole estate, with a commandment to keep his house without meddling in matters of Religion. But those who better understood the mind of the Queen, so ordered it, that on the 14th. of September, he was sent to the Tower, where he remained prisoner till the 3d. of November. At what time he was arraigned in the Guild Hall of London, together with the Lord Guilford Dudley, the late Queen Jane's wife, and others; all of them being attained and condemned of Treason, as before was said. And he lay under this attainure till the year next following, when the old Statutes for putting Hereticks to death, were revived in Parliament. Which having furnished his adversaries with a better ground to proceed upon, to the contentment of the Pope and the Queen together, they waved the prosecuting of that Attaindure, to an Execution, and wholly fixed themselves on the point of Heresie. At the hearing whereof, he was right well pleased, because the case was not now his own, but Christs; not the Queens, but the Churches.

The severity of this beginning against the Natives, gave a sufficient warning to all such strangers, who had took sanctuary here in the time of King Edward, to provide betimes for their departure. Amongst whom, none more openly aimed at than *Peter Martyr*, because none of them had given wider wounds than he to the Catholick Cause. *Tresham*, a senior Canon of *Christ Church*, had held some points against him at his first coming thither; and now he took the benefit of the times, in causing both that house, and many others in the University, to put some publick scorn upon him. Not finding any safety there, he retires to *Lambeth*, where he was sure of as much safety as that place could give him. A consultation had been held by some of the more fiery spirits, for his commitment unto prison. But he came hither (as it was well known) on the publick Faith, which was not to be violated for the satisfaction of some private persons. It was thought fit therefore to discharge him of all further employment, and to licence him to depart in peace, none being more forward to furnish him with all things necessary for his going hence, than the new Lord Chancellor; whether in honour to his Learning, or out of a desire to send him packing, shall not now be questioned. But less humanity was shewed unto him in his wife, whose body having been buried in the Church of *St Frideswide*, was afterwards by publick order taken out of the grave, and buried in a common dunghill. About the same time also such strangers as were gathered together into the Church of *John Alasco*, not only were necessitated to forbear their meetings, but to dissolve their Congregation, and to quit the Countrey. Such a displeasure was conceived against them, by those which governed the affairs, that it was no small difficulty for them to get leave for their departure; and glad they were to take the opportunity of two *Danish ships*, and to put themselves to sea in the beginning of winter, fearing more storms in England, than upon the Ocean. And so farwel to *John Alasco*. It was an ill wind which brought him hither, and worse he could not have for his going back. The like haste made the *French Protestants* also. And that they might have no pretence for a long stay, command was sent unto the Mayor of *Rie* and *Dover*, on the 16th. of September, to suffer all *French Protestants* to cross the seas, except such only, whose names should be signified unto them by the *French Ambassadors*. But notwithstanding these removes, many, both *Dutch* and *French*, remained

remained still in the Kingdom, some of which being after found in *Wiat's* Army, occasioned the banishing of all the rest, except Denizens and Merchants only, by a publick Edict. At which time many of the *English* departed also, as well Students as others, to the number of 300. or thereabouts; hoping to find that freedom and protection in a forein Country, which was denied them in their own. The principal of those which put themselves into this voluntary exile, were, *Kauberine*, the last wife of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, *Robert Bertie*, Esquire, husband to the Dutchess; the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Wells*, *Sir Richard Morison*, *Sir Anthony Cook*, and *Sir John Cheek*, *Dr Cox*, *Dr Samays*, and *Dr Grindall*, and divers others, of whom we shall hear more hereafter on another occasion.

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Of all these things, they neither were, nor could be ignorant in the Court of *Rome*, to which the death of *Edward* had been swiftly posted on the wings of fame. The newes of the succession of *Queen Mary*, itaid not long behind, so much more welcome to *Pope Julius* 3d. who then held that See, because it gave him some assurance of his re-admission into the power and jurisdiction of his predecessors in the Realm of *England*. For what less was to be expected, considering that she was brought up in the Catholick Religion, interess'd in the respects of her mother, and Cosen in the first degree unto *Charles* the Emperour? In the pursuance of which hopes, it was resolv'd that *Cardinal Pole* should be sent Legate into *England*, who being of the Royal blood, a man of eminent learning, and exemplary life, was looked on as the fittest instrument to reduce that Kingdome. The Cardinal well knowing that he stood attainted by the Lawes of the Land, and that the name of *Henry* was still preserv'd in estimation amongst the people; thought it not safe to venture thither, before he fully understood the state of things. He therefore secretly dispatcheth *Commendonius*, a right trusty Minister, by whom he writes a private Letter to the Queen. In which commending first her perseverance in Religion in the time of her troubles, he exhorteth her to a continuance in it in the days of her happiness. He recommended also to her, the salvation of the souls of her people, and the restitution of the true worship of God. *Commendonius*, having diligently inform'd himself of all particulars, found means of speaking with the Queen. By whom he understood not only her own good affections to the See Apostolick; but that she was resolv'd to use her best endeavours for re-establishing the Religion of the Church of *Rome* in all her Kingdomes. Which being made known unto the Cardinal, he puts himself into the voyage. The newes whereof being brought to *Charles* (who had his own design apart from that of the Pope) he signified by *Dandino*, the Pope's Nuncio with him; that an Apostolick Legate could not be sent into *England* as affairs then stood, either with safety to himself, or honour to the Church of *Rome*; and therefore that he might do well to defer the journey, till the *English* might be brought to a better temper.

But the Queen knowing nothing of this stop, and being full of expectation of the Cardinals coming, had called a Parliament to begin on the 10th. of *October*. In which she made it her first Act, to take away all Statutes pass'd by the two last Kings, wherein certain offences had been made High Treason, and others brought within the compass of a *Premunire*. And this she did, especially for *Pole's* security, that neither he by exercising his Authority, nor the Clergy by submitting to it, might be intangled in the like snares, in which *Cardinal Wolfe*, and the whole Clergy of his time had before been caught. It was designed also to rescind all former Statutes which had been made by the said two Kings against the jurisdiction of the Pope, the Doctrine and Religion of the Church of *Rome*, and to reduce all matters Ecclesiastical to the same estate, in which they stood in the beginning of the Reign of the King her Father. But this was looked upon by others as too great an enterprize to be attempted by a woman, especially in a green estate, and amongst people sensible of those many benefits, which they enjoyed by shaking off their former vassalage to a forein power.

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power. It was advised therefore to proceed no further at the present, than to repeal all Acts and Statutes which had been made in derogation to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* in the time of her brother; which being passed in his minority, when all affairs were carried by faction and strong hand, contrary to the judgement of the best and soundest part of the Clergy and Laity, might give a just pretence for their abrogation, till all particulars might be considered and debated in a lawful Synod. According to which temperament, the point was carried, and the Act pass'd no higher than for *Repealing certain Statutes of the time of King Edward*; by which one blow she felled down all which had been done in the Reformation in seven years before.

For by this Act, they took away all former Statutes for Administ'ring the Communion in both kinds; for establishing the first and second Liturgie; for confirming the new *Ordinal*, or form of consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, &c. for abrogating certain Fasts and Feastivals which had been formerly observed; for authorizing the marriage of Priests, and Legitimation of their children; not to say any thing of that Statute (as not worth the naming) for making Bishops by the King's Letters Patents, and exercising their Episcopal jurisdiction in the King's name only. So that upon the matter, not only all things were reduced to the same estate in which they stood at *Edward's* coming to the Crown, but all those Bishops and Priests which had married by authority of the former Statutes, were made uncanonical, and consequently obnoxious to a deprivation. So that for want of Canonical Ordination on the one side, and under colour of uncanonical Marriages on the other, we shall presently find such a general remove amongst the Bishops and Clergy, as is not any where to be parallel'd in so short a time. And because some affronts had been lately offered to such Priests as had been forward in setting up the Mass in their several Churches, and that no small danger was incurred by Dr *Bourn* above mentioned, for a Sermon preached at *St Paul's Cross*; an Act was passed for the preventing of the like for the time to come, Entituled *An Act against offenders of Preachers, and other Ministers, in the Church*. Which two Acts were no sooner passed, but they were seconded by the Queen with two Proclamations on the 5th. of December. By one of which it was declared, That all Statutes made in the time of the late King *Edward*, which concerned Religion, were repealed by Parliament; and therefore that the Mass should be said as formerly, to begin on the 20th of that month: And by the other it was commanded, that no manner of person from thenceforth, should dare to disturb the Priests in saying Mass, or executing any other divine Office, under the pains and penalties therein contained. According unto which appointment, the Mass was publickly officiated in all parts of the Kingdome, and so continued during the Reign of this Queen, without interruption.

There also pass'd another Act, wherein it was Enacted, That the marriage between King *Henry* the 8th. and Queen *Katherine* his first wife, should be definitively, cleerly, and absolutely declared, deemed, adjudged to be, and stand with God's Laws, and his most Holy word, and to be accepted, repured and taken of good effect and validity to all intents and purposes whatsoever; that the Decree or Sentence of Divorce heretofore passed between the said King *Henry* the 8th, and the said Queen, by *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should be deemed, taken, and reputed to be void and null; with a repeal of all such Statutes or Acts of Parliament, in which the Queen had been declared to be illegitimate. The making of which Act, as it did much conduce to the establishment of the Queen's estate; so did it tacitly and implicitly acknowledge the supremacy to be in the Pope of *Rome*, which could not be attained explicitly and in terms expresse, as affairs then stood. For since the marriage neither was nor could be reputed valid, but by the dispensation of Pope *Julius* the 2d. the declaration of the goodness and validity of it, did consequently infer the Popes authority, from which that dispensation issued. And therefore it was well observed by the Author of the *History of the Council of Trent*, that it seemed

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seemed ridiculous in the English Nobility, to oppose the restitution of the Popes supremacy, when it was propounded to them by the Queen in the following Session; considering that the yielding to this demand was virtually contained in their assent to the Marriage. There also past another Act, in which there was a clause for the invalidating of all such Commissions, as had been granted in the time of the late Queen Jane; and one in confirmation of the attainders of the late Duke of Northumberland, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. Which shews, that there was somewhat in the said proceedings not so clear in Law, but that there seem'd a necessity of calling in the Legislative power to confirm the same, for the indemnity of those who had acted in them. Together with this Parliament, the Queen was pleased to summon a Convocation, to the end that all matters of Religion might be first debated and concluded in a Synodical way, before they were offered to the consideration of the other Assembly. In the writs of which summons, she retained the Title of Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, &c. the want whereof in those of the present Parliament, occasioned a dispute amongst some of the members; Whether they might lawfully proceed or not, in such publick businesses as were to be propounded to them in that Session. Archbishop Cramer had been before imprisoned in the Tower of London, and was detained there all the time of this Convocation, so that he could not do that service to God and the Church, which his place required. This took for a sufficient ground to transfer the Presidentship of the Convocation upon Bonner of London, privileged in respect of his See, to preside in all such Provincial Synods, which were either held during the vacancy of the See of Canterbury, or in the necessary absence of the Metropolitan. The lower house of the Clergy also, was fitted with a Prolocutor, of the same affections, Dr Hugh Weston, then newly substituted Dean of Westminster in the place of Cox, being elected to that Office. On Wednesday the 18th. of October, it was signified by the Prolocutor, that it was the Queens pleasure, that they of the House should debate of matters of Religion, and proceed to the making of such constitutions as should be found necessary in that case. But there was no equality in number between the parties, and reason was of no authority where the major part had formerly resolved upon the points. So partially had the elections been returned from the several Diocesses, that we find none of King Edward's Clergy amongst the Clerks; and such an alteration had been made in the Deans and Dignitaries, that we find but six of that rank neither to have suffrage in it, that is to say, James Haddon Dean of Exeter, Walter Philips Dean of Rochester, John Philpot Arch Deacon of Winchester, John Elmdon Arch Deacon of Stow, in the Diocess of Lincoln, Richard Cheney Arch Deacon of Hereford. One more I find, but without any name, in the Acts and Mon. who joined himself to the other five in the disputation. Nor would the Prolocutor admit of more, though earnestly desired by Philpot, that some of the Divines which had the passing of the Book of Articles in King Edward's time, might be associated with them in the defence thereof.

Which motion he the rather made, because one of the points proposed by the Prolocutor, related to a Catechism set forth in the said Kings time, intruded to the said Convocation in the year 1552. Of which it was to be enquired, whether or no it was the work of that Convocation. But that matter being passed lightly over, the main point in debate concerned the manner of Christs presence in the blessed Sacrament. It was not denied by Philpot, and the rest of the Protestant party, that Christ was present in his Sacrament, rightly ministred according to his institution, but only that he was not present after the gross and carnal manner, which they of the Popish party had before subscribed to. Six days the disputation lasted, but to little purpose; for on the one side it was said by Weston and his associates, that their adversaries were sufficiently confuted, and all their Arguments fully answered. And on the other side it was affirmed by the Divines of King Edward's time, that

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neither any satisfaction had been given to their Arguments, nor that any right judgement could be made in the points disputed, where the adverse party late as Judges in their own concernments. Many checks had been given by *Weston* to the six Divines, but especially to the Arch-Deacon of *Winchester*; and there was much disorder otherwise in the disputation (though certain great Lords were present at it) which hindered it from producing any good effect. So that being weary at the last of their own confusions, it was thought fit to put an end to the dispute. Which *Weston* did accordingly in these following words. It is not (saith he) the Queens pleasure that we should spend any longer time in these debates, and ye are well enough already, *For you (saith he) have the Word, and we have the Sword.* So powerful is the truth, that many times it will find some means to vent it self, when we least intend it, and sometimes also when we most labour to suppress it.

The Parliament and Convocation had thus concluded on the point, and little question would be made, but that such Bishops as disliked the alterations in the time of King *Edward*, will be sufficiently active in advancing the results of both. But *Bonner* will not stay so long; he is resolved to go along with the Parliament, if not before it. For after the ending of the Even song on *St Katherine's* day, before the consultations of the Parliament had been confirmed by the Royal assent, he caused the Quire of *St Paul's* to go about the steeple, singing with lights after the old custome. And on *St Andrew's* day next following, he began the Procession in Latine, himself, with many Parsons and Curates, and the whole Quire, together with the Lord Mayor, and divers of the Aldermen, the Prebends of the Church attired in their old gray Amises (as they used to call them) in which manner they continued it for three dayes after. In setting up the Mase, with all the Poms and Rites thereof at the time appointed, it is not to be thought that he could be backward, who shewed himself so forward in the rest of his actings. And therefore it can be no news to hear that on the 14th. of *January*, he restored the solemn *Sundays-Procession* about the Church, with the Mayor and Aldermen in their Clokes; the Preacher taking his benediction in the midst of the Church, according to the ancient custome; or that he should send out his Mandates to all Parsons and Curates within his Diocese, for taking the names of all such as would not come the Lent following to Auricular confession, and receive at *Easter*; or finally, that he should issue out the like commands to all Priests and Curates, which lived within the compass of his jurisdiction, for the abolishing of such Paintings and Sentences of holy Scripture, as had been pensiled on the Church walls, in King *Edward's* dayes. He knew full well, that as the actions of the Mother Church would easily become exemplary to the rest of the City, so the proceedings of that City, and the parts about it, would in time give the law to the rest of the Kingdom; and that there was no speedier way to advance a general conformity over all the Kingdom, than to take beginning at the head, from whence both sence and motion is derived to the rest of the body. Which makes it seem the greater wonder, that he should be so backward in advancing Images (if at the least his actings in that kind have not been misplaced) as not to go about it till the year next following; unless it were that he began to be so wise as to stay until the Queen's affairs were better settled. But no sooner was her marriage past, when we find him at it. For having by that time prepared a fair and large Image of our Saviour, which they called the *Rood*, he caused it to be laid along upon the pavement of *St Paul's* Quire, and all the doors of the Church to be kept close shut, whilst he together with the Prebends, sung and said divers prayers by it. Which done, they anointed it with oyl in divers places, and after the anointing of it, crept unto it, and kissed it, and after weighed it up, and set it in its accustomed place; the whole quire in the mean time singing *Te Deum*, and the bells publishing their joy at the end of the Pageant. After which a command is given to *Dr Story* (who was then Chancellor of his Diocese, and afterwards a most active instrument in

all his butcheries) to visit every Parish Church in London and Middlesex, to see their *Rood lozes* repaired, and the Images of the Crucifix with *Mary* and *John* to be placed on them.

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But it is time that we return to the former Parliament, during the sitting whereof, the Queen had been desired to marry, and three husbands had been nominated of several qualities, that she might please her self in the choice of one. That is to say, *Edward Lord Courteney*, whom she had lately restored to the Title of Earl of *Devon*, *Reginald Pole*, a Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*, descended from *George Duke of Clarence*; and *Philip* the eldest son of *Charles* the Emperour. It is affirmed, that she had carried some good affections to the Earl of *Devonshire*, ever since she first saw him in the Tower, as being of a lovely personage and Royal extraction, the Grandson of a Daughter of King *Edward* the 4th. But he being founded afar off, had declined the matter. Concerning which there goes a story, that the young Earl petitioning her for leave to travel, she advised him to marry and stay at home, assuring him that no Lady in the land how high soever, would refuse to accept him for an husband. By which words though she pointed out herself unto him, as plainly as might either stand with the Modesty or Majesty of a Maiden Queen; Yet the young Gentleman not daring to look so high as a Crown, or being better affected to the person of the Princess *Elizabeth*, desired the Queen to give him leave to marry her sister. Which gave the Queen so much displeasure, that she looked with an evil eye upon them both for ever after; upon the Earl for not accepting that love which she seemed to offer, and on her sister as her Rival in the Earls affections. It was supposed also, that she might have some inclinations to Cardinal *Pole*, as having been brought up with him in the house of his Mother, the late Countess of *Salisbury*. But against him it was objected, that he began to grow in years, and was so given unto his book, that he seemed fitter for a Coul than to wear a Crown; that he had few dependences at home, and fewer alliances abroad; and that the Queen's affairs did require a man both stout and active, well back'd with friends, and able at all points to carry on the great concerns of the Kingdom. And then what fitter husband could be found out for her, than *Philip* Prince of *Spain*? A Prince in the verdure of his years, and eldest son to the most Mighty Emperour, *Charles* the 5th, by whom the *Netherlands* being laid to *England*, and both secured by the assistance and power of *Spain*, this nation might be render'd more considerable both by sea and land, than any people in the world.

To this last Match the Queen was carefully solicited by the Bishop of *Winchester*, who neither loved the person of *Pole*, nor desired his company, for fear of growing less in power and reputation, by coming under the command of a Cardinal Legate. To which end he encouraged *Charles* the Emperour to go on with this marriage for his son; not without some secret intimation of his Advice, for not suffering *Pole* to come into *England* (if he were suffered to come at all) till the Treaty were concluded, and the Match agreed on. According whereunto, the Lord *Lamoralle* Earl of *Edmond*, *Charles* Earl of *Lalain*, and *John d' Mount Morency*, Earl of *Horn*, arrived in *England* as Ambassadors from the Emperour. In the beginning of *January* they began to treat upon the marriage, which they found so well prepared before their coming, that in short time it was accorded upon these conditions. 1. That it "should be lawful for *Philip* to assume the Title of all the Kingdoms and Provinces belonging to his wife, and should be joint Governour with her over those Kingdoms; the Privileges and Customes thereof alwayes preserved inviolate, and the full and free distribution of Bishopricks, Benefices, Favours and Offices, alwayes remaining intire in the Queen. 2. That the Queen should also carry the Titles of all those Realms, into which *Philip* either then was, or should be afterwards invested. 3. That if the Queen survived *Philip*, 60 thousand pounds per annum should be assigned to her for her joynture, as had been formerly assigned to the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to

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" King Edward the 4th. and Wife to Charles Duke of Burgundy. 4. That the Issue begotten by this marriage, should succeed in all the Queens Dominions, as also in the Dukedom and Countrey of Burgundy, and all those Provinces in the Neatherlands, of which the Emperour was possessed. 5. That if none but daughters should proceed from this marriage, the eldest should succeed in all the said Provinces of the Neatherlands, provided that by the Counsel and consent of Charles (the son of Philip, by Mary of Portugal his first wife) she should make choice of a husband out of England or the Neatherlands, or otherwise to be deprived of her right in the succession in the said estates, and Charles to be invited in them; and in that case convenient portions to be made for her and the rest of the daughters. 6. And finally, That if the said Charles should depart this life without lawful issue, that then the Heir surviving of this marriage, though female only, should succeed in all the Kingdoms of Spain, together with all the Dominions and Estates of Italy thereunto belonging. Conditions fair and large enough, and more to the advantage of the Realm of England, than the Crown of Spain.

But so it was not understood by the generality of the people of England, many of which out of a restless disposition, or otherwise desirous to restore the reformed Religion, had caused it to be noised abroad, that the Spaniards were by this accord, to become the absolute Lords of all the Kingdom; that they were to have the managing of all affairs; and that abolishing all the ancient Laws of the Realm, they would impose upon the land a most intolerable yoke of servitude, as a conquered Nation. Which either being certainly known, or probably suspected by the Queen and the Council, it was thought fit that the Lord Chancellor should make a true and perfect declaration of all the points of the Agreement, not only in the Presence Chamber to such Lords and Gentlemen as were at that time about the Court and the City of London; but also to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and certain of the chief Commoners of that City, purposely sent for to the Court upon that occasion: Which services he perform'd on the 14th. and 15th. days of January. And having summarily reported all the Articles of the capitulation, he shewed unto them how much they were bound to thank God, That such a Noble, Worthy, and Famous Prince, would vouchsafe so to humble himself, as in this marriage to take upon him rather as a subject than otherwise. Considering that the Queen and her Council were to Rule and Govern all things as they did before; and that none of the Spaniards or other strangers, were to be of the Council, nor to have the custody of any Castles, Forts, &c. nor to have any office in the Queen's house, or elsewhere throughout the Kingdom. In which respect it was the Queens request to the Lords and Gentlemen, That for her sakes they would most lovingly receive the said Prince with joy and honour; and to the Lord Mayor and the Citizens, That they would behave themselves to be good subjects with all humility and rejoicing.

Which declaration notwithstanding, the subjects were not easily satisfied in those fears and jealousies, which cunningly had been infused into them by some popular spirits, who greedily affected a change of Government; and to that end sowed divers other discontents amongst the people. To some they secretly complained, " That the Queen had broke her promise to the Suffolk men, in suppressing the Religion settled by King Edward the 6th. to others, " That the marriage with the Prince of Spain, was but the introduction to a second vassalage to the Popes of Rome; sometimes they pitied the calamity of the Lady Jane, not only forcibly deposed, but barbarously condemned to a cruel death; and sometimes magnified the eminent vertues of the Princess Elizabeth, as the only blessing of the Kingdom; and by those Articles, prepared the people in most places for the act of Rebellion. And that it might succeed the better, nothing must be pretended but the preservation and defence of their Civil Liberties, which they knew was generally like to take both with Papists and Protestants; but so that they had many engines to draw such others to the side, as either were considerable for power or quality. The Duke

Duke of *Suffolk* was hooked in, upon the promise of re-establishing his daughter in the Royal throne; the *Carews*, and other Gentlemen of *Devonshire*, upon assurance of marrying the Lord *Courney* to the Princess *Elizabeth*, and setting the Crown upon their heads; and all they that wished well to the Reformation, upon the like hopes of restoring that Religion which had been settled by the care and piety of the good King *Edward*, but now suppressed, contrary to all faith and promise, by the Queen and her Ministers. By means of which suggestions and subtil practices, the contagion was so generally diffused over all the Kingdom, that if it had not accidentally broke out before the time appointed by them, it was conceived by many wise and knowing men, that the danger might have proved far greater, the disease incurable.

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For so it hapned, that the *Carews* conceiving that the deferring of the execution of the plot thus laid, might prove destructive to that cause, or otherwise fatally thrust on by their own ill destiny, began to leavy men in *Cornwal*, which could not be so closely carried, but that their purpose was discovered, and the chief of them forced to flye the Kingdom. The news whereof gave such an allarm to the confederates, that they shewed themselves in several places before the people were prepared and made ready for them. Infomuch, that the Duke of *Suffolk*, together with the Lord *Thomas Gray*, and the Lord *Leonard Gray*, having made Proclamation in divers places on the 25th. of that month, against the Queens intended marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, and finding that the people came not in so fast unto them as they did expect, were forced to dismiss their slender company, and shift for themselves, upon the first news that the Earl of *Huntington* was coming toward them with 300 horse. An action very unfortunate to himself and to all his family. For first, The Queen finding that she was to expect no peace or quiet as long as the Lady *Jane* was suffered to remain alive, caused her and the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, to be openly executed on the 12th. of *February* then next following. His daughter *Katherine* formerly married to *Henry Lord Herbert*, eldest son to the Earl of *Pembrook*, (but the marriage by reason of her tender years, not coming unto a consummation by carnal knowlege) was by him repudiated and cast off, and a marriage presently made betwixt him and another *Katherine*, a daughter of *George Earl of Shrewsbury*. His brothers, *John* and *Thomas*, committed prisoners to the Tower; of which two, *Thomas* suffered death about two months after. And for himself, being compelled to hide his head in the house of one *Runderwood*, whom he had preferred unto the keeping of one of his Parks, he was by him most basely and treacherously betrayed to the said Earl of *Huntington*, on the 11th. of *February*. Arraigned on the 17th. of the same month, and beheaded on the 23d.

Nor fared it better with the rest, though they of *Kent*, conducted by Sir *Thomas Wiat* (the chief contriver of the plot) were suddenly grown considerable for their number, and quickly formidable for their power. The newes of whose rising being swiftly posted to the Court, the Duke of *Norfolk* was appointed to go against him, attended with few more than the Queen's ordinary Guards, and followed by 500 *Londoners* newly raised, and sent by water to *Graves End*, under the charge of Captain *Alexander Bret*. With which few forces he intended to assault the Rebels, who had put themselves into *Rochester Castle*, and fortified the bridge with some pieces of Canon. But being ready to fall on, *Bret* with his *Londoners* fell off to *Wiat*, and so necessitated the old Duke to return to *London* in great haste, accompanied by the Earl of *Arundel* and Sir *Henry Gerningham*, with some few of their horse, leaving their foot, eight pieces of Canon, and all their ammunition belonging to them, in the power of the enemy. This brings the Queen to the Guild Hall in *London*, on the first of *February*, where she finds the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and many of the chief Citizens in their several Liveries. To whom she signified, "That she never did intend to marry, but on such conditions, as in the judgement of her Council should be found honourable to the Realm, and profita-

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“ble to her subjects; that therefore they should give no credit to those many
 “calumnies, which *Wias* and his accomplices, who according to the guise of
 “Rebels, had purposely dispersed to defame both her and her government; but
 “rather that they should contribute their best assistance for the suppressing of
 “those, who contrary to their duty, were in arms against her. And though she
 had as good as she brought, that is to say, fair promises for her gracious words;
 yet understanding that many in the City held intelligence with the Kentish
 Rebels, she appointed the Lord *William Howard* (whom afterwards she crea-
 red Lord *Howard of Effingham*) to be Lieutenant of the City, and *Pembroke*
 General of the field. The event shewed that she followed the Counsel which
 proved best for her preservation. For had she trusted to the City, she had been
 betrayed.

Incouraged with his success, and confident of a strong party amongst the
Londoners, on the 3d. day of *February*, he entred *Southwark*, where he and his
 were finely feasted by the people. But when he hoped to have found the way
 open to the rest of the City, he found the draw-Bridge to be cut down, the
 bridge-Gate to be shut, and the Ordinance of the Tower to be bent against him,
 by the appointment and direction of the Lord Lieutenant. Two dayes he tri-
 fled out in *Southwark* to no purpose at all, more than the sacking of *Winchester*
 House, and the defacing of the Bishops Library there, unless it were to leave
 a document to posterity, that God insatuates the Counsels of those wretched
 men, who traiterously take up arms against their Princes. And having liberally
 bestowed these two dayes upon the Queen, the better to enable her to provide
 for her safety, he wheels about on Sunday the 6th. of the same month to *King-*
ston bridge. And though the bridge was broken down before his coming, and
 that the opposite shore was guarded by 200. men, yet did he use such diligence,
 that he removed away those forces, repaired the bridge, past over both his men
 and Canon, and might in probability have surprised both the Court and City
 in the dead of the night, if the same spirit of insatiation had not rested on him.
 For having marched beyond *Brainford* in the way towards *London*, without gi-
 ving or taking the alarm, it hapned that one of his great pieces was dismoun-
 ted by the breach of its wheels. In the mending and mounting whereof, he
 obstinately wasted so much time, notwithstanding all the persuasions which his
 friends could make unto him, that many of his men slipped from him, and some
 gave notice to the Court, not only of his near approach, but also what his pur-
 pose was, and what had hindered him from putting it in execution. On this Ad-
 vertisement the Earl of *Pembroke* arms, and draws out his men to attend the mo-
 tion of the Rebels, who about 10 of the clock came to *Chearing Cross*, and with-
 out falling on the Court, (which was then in a very great amazement) turn
 up the *Sirand* to *Temple Bar*, and so toward *Ludgate*, the Earl of *Pembroke* fol-
 lowing and cutting him off in the arreir upon every turn. Coming to *London*,
 (when it was too late for his intendments) he found the Gates fast shut against
 him, and the Lord *William Howard* in as great a readiness to oppose him there, as
 when he was before in *Southwark*. So that being hemmed in on both sides with-
 out hope of relief, he yields himself to Sir *Morris Berkeley*, is carried prisoner to
 the Court, from thence committed to the Tower, arraigned at *Westminster* on
 the 15th. of *March*, and executed on the 11th. of *April*, having first heard,
 that no fewer than 50 of his accomplices were hanged in *London*, and *Bret*,
 with 22 more in several places of *Kent*.

It can not be denied but that the restitution of the Reformed Religion,
 was the matter principally aimed at in this Rebellion, though nothing but the
 March with *Spain* appeared on the outside of it. Which appears plainly by a
 Book writ by *Christopher Goodman* (associated with *John Knox*, for setting up
 Presbytery and Rebellion in the Kirk of *Scotland*) in which he takes upon him
 to shew how far Superior Magistrates ought to be obeyed. For having filled al-
 most every Chapter of it with railing speeches against the Queen, and stirring up
 the people to rebel against her, he falleth amongst the rest upon this expression,

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viz. "W^{as} did but his duty, and it was but the duty of all others that profess the Gospel, to have risen with him for maintenance of the same. His cause was just, and they were all Traytors that took not part with him. O Noble W^{as}! thou art now with God, and those worthy men that dyed in that happy enterprise. But this Book was written at Geneva, where Calvin reigned. To whom no pamphlet could be more agreeable, than such as did reproach this Queen; whom in his Comment upon Amos, he entitleth by the name of *Forserpine*, and saith, that she exceeded in her cruelties all the devils in hell. Much more it is to be admired, that Dr John Poynt, the late Bishop of Winchester, should be of Counsel in the plot, or put himself into their Camp, and attend them unto the place where the carriage brake. Where when he could not work on W^{as} to desist from that unprofitable labour in remounting the Cannon, he counselled *Vauban*, *Bret*, and others, to shift for themselves, took leave of his more secret friends, told them that he would pray for their good success, and so departed and took ship for Germany, where he after died.

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The fortunate suppressing of these insurrections, secured the Queen from any fear of the like dangers for the present. And thereupon it was advised to make use of the opportunity for putting the Church into a posture, when the spirits of the opposite party were so crush'd and broken, that no resistance could be looked for. Articles therefore are sent into every Diocese, and letters writ unto the several and Respective Bishops, on the 3d. of March, to see them carefully and speedily put in execution. The Tenour of which Articles were as followeth.

1. That every Bishop and his Officers, with all other having Ecclesiastical jurisdiction shall with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in execution all such Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws, heretofore in the time of King Henry the 8th. used within this Realm of England, and the Dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

2. That no Bishop, or any his Officer, or other person, hereafter in any of their Ecclesiastical writings, in proceffe, or other extra-judicial acts, do use or put in this clause or Sentence, Regia Authoritate fulcitur.

3. That no Bishop, nor any his Officers, or other person, do hereafter exact or demand in the admission of any person to any Ecclesiastical Promotion, Order or Office, any Oath touching the primacy or succession, as of late few years past hath been accustomed and used.

4. That every Bishop and his Officers, with all other persons, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any Ecclesiastical function, Benefice, or Office, being a Sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of Heresie, or other great crime; and that the said Bishop do stay, and cause to be staid, as much as lyeth in him, that Benefices and Ecclesiastical promotions, do not notably decay or take hinderance, by passing or confirming of unreasonable Leases.

5. That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travail for the suppressing of Heresies and notable crimes, especially in the Clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

6. That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful Rooks, Ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred and discord amongst the people. And that Schoolmasters, Teachers, and Preachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties, without Teaching, Preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the Bishop and his said Officers, punished and removed.

7. That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may, and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and remove according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their Benefices and Ecclesiastical

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Ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of their Order, and the laudable custome of the Church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and scandalously disordered or abused themselves, sequestering also, during the said processe, the fruits and profits of the said Benefices and Ecclesiastical promotions.

8. That the said Bishop and other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with others whose women do yet remain alive. And likewise such Priests as with the consent of their wives or women, openly in the presence of the Bishop, do profess to abstain, to be used more favourable. In which case, after the Penance effectually done, the Bishop according to his discretion and wisdom, may upon just consideration, receive and admit them again to their former administrations, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benefice, whereof they be deprived, by the discretion of the said Bishop or his Officer, as he shall think may be spared of the same Benefice.

9. That every Bishop and other person aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman, or wife, but that all such persons after deprivation of their Benefice, or Ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

10. Item, That every Bishop and all other persons aforesaid, do take Order and direction with the Parishioners of every Benefice where Priests do want, to repair to the next Parish for divine Service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one Curate to serve alienis vicibus, in divers Parishes, and to allot the said Curate for his labour, some part of the Benefice which he so serveth.

11. That all, and all manner of Processions in the Church, be used frequently, and continued after the old Order of the Church, in the Latin tongue.

12. That all such holy-dages and fasting-dages be observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter time of King Henry the 8. b.

13. That the laudable and honest Ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented and observed in the Church, be hereafter frequented, used and observed; and that children be Christened by the Priest, and confirmed by the Bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

14. Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new sort and fashion of Orders, considering they were not Ordered in very deed, the Bishop of the Diocese finding otherwise sufficient ability in these men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, then according to his discretion admit them to minister.

15. That by the Bishop of the Diocese, an uniform doctrine be set forth by Homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people. And that the said Bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several Churches, and there devoutly to hear divine Service, as of reason they ought.

16. That they examine all Schoolmasters and Teachers of children, and finding them suspect in any wise, to remove them, and place Catholick men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the Priest at the Masse, and so help the Priest at Masse, as hath been accustomed.

17. That the said Bishops, and all other the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting forth of the premises, with all kind of verine, godly living, and good example, with repressing also, or keeping under of vice and unchristianesse, as they and every of them, may be seen to favour the restitution of the Religion, and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, Our good contentation, and profit of this Our Realm, and the Dominions of the same.

The generality of the people not being well pleased before with the Queen's proceedings,

proceedings, were startled more than ever at the noise of these Articles; none more exasperated than those whose either hands or hearts had been joyned with *Wiat*. But not being able to prevail by open army, a new device is found out to befool the people, and bring them to a misconceit of the present government. A young maid called *Elizabeth Cross*, about the age of eighteen years, was tutored to counterfeit certain speeches in the wall of a house not far from *Aldersgate*, where she was heard of many, but seen of none, and that her voice might be conceived to have somewhat in it more than ordinary, a strange whistle was devised for her, out of which her words proceeded in such a tone, as seemed to have nothing mortal in it. And thereupon it was affirmed by some of the people (great multitudes whereof resorted dayly to the place) that it was an Angel, or at least a voice from Heaven, by others, that it could be nothing but the Holy Ghost; but generally she pass'd by the name of the *Spirit in the wall*. For the interpreting of whose words, there wanted not some of the confederates, who mingled themselves by turns amongst the rest of the people, and taking on them to expound what the Spirit said, delivered many dangerous and seditious words against the Queen, her marriage with the Prince of Spain, the Mass, Confession, and the like. The practice was first set on foot on the 14th. of March, which was within ten days after the publishing of the Articles, and for a while it went on fortunately enough, according to the purpose of the chief contrivers. But the abuse being searched into, and the plot discovered, the wench was ordered to stand upon a scaffold near *St Paul's Cross*, on the 15th. of July, there to abide during the time of the Sermon, and that being done, to make a publick declaration of that lewd imposture. Let not the Papists be from henceforth charged with *Elizabeth Barton* whom they called the Holy made of *Kent*; since now the *Zuinglian Gospellers*, (for I cannot but consider this as a plot of theirs) have raised up their *Elizabeth Cross*, whom they called the Spirit in the wall, to draw aside the people from their due Allegiance.

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Wiat's Rebellion being quenched, and the Realm in a condition capable of holding a Parliament, the Queen Convenes her Lords and Commons on the 2d. of April, in which Session the Queens marriage with the Prince of Spain, being offered unto consideration, was finally concluded and agreed unto upon these conditions, that is to say, "That *Philip* should not advance any to any publick office or dignity in *England*, but such as were Natives of the Realm, and the Queens subjects. That he should admit of a set number of *English* in his household, whom he should use respectfully, and not suffer them to be injured by foreiners. That he should not transport the Queen out of *England*, but at her intreaty, nor any of the issue begotten by her, who should have their education in this Realm, and should not be suffered but upon necessity and good reasons, to go out of the same, nor then neither but with the consent of the *English*. That the Queen deceasing without children, *Philip* should not make any claim to the Kingdom, but should leave it freely to him to whom of right it should belong. That he should not change any thing in the Lawes, either publick or private, nor the immunities and customs of the Realm, but should be bound by oath to confirm and keep them. That he should not transport any Jewels, nor any part of the War-drobe, nor alienate any of the revenues of the Crown. That he should preserve our Shipping, Ordnance and Munition, and keep the Castles, Forts, and Block Houses, in good repair, and well maned. Lastly, That this March should not any way derogate from the League lately concluded between the Queen, and the King of *France*, but that the peace between the *English* and the *French* should remain firm and inviolate.

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For the clearer carrying on this great business, and to encourage them for the performance of such further services as her occasions might require; the Queen was pleased to increase the number of her Barons. In pursuance whereof, she advanced the Lord *William Howard*, Cosen German to *Thomas*

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Duke of Norfolk, to the Title of Lord Howard of Effingham, on the 11th. of March, and elected him into the Order of the Garter within few months after; whose son called *Charles*, being Lord Admiral of England, and of no small renown for his success at the Isle of Gades, was by Queen Elizabeth created Earl of Nottingham, Anno 1589. Next to him followed Sir John Williams, created Lord Williams of Tame on the 5th. of April; who dying without Issue Male, left his Estate (though not his Honors) betwixt two daughters; the eldest of whom, called Margaret, was married to Sir Henry Norris, whom Queen Elizabeth created Lord Norris of Ricot, in reference perhaps to his father's suffering in the cause of her mother; from whom descended Francis Lord Norris, advanced by King James to the Honors of Viscount Tame, and Earl of Berkshire, by Letters Patens bearing date in January, Anno 1620. After him on the 7th. of April, comes Sir Edward North, created Baron of Charleleg, in the County of Cambridge, who having been Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations in the time of King Henry, and raised himself a fair Estate by the fall of Abbeys, was by the King made one of his Executors, and nominated to be one of the great Councill of Estate in his Son's Minority. Sir John Bruggis brings up the rear, who being descended from Sir John Chandois, a right noble Banneret, and from the Bottlers Lords of Sudley, was made Lord Chandois of Sudley on the 8th. of April, which goodly Mannor he had lately purchased of the Crown, to which it was Escheated on the death of Sir Thomas Seymour, Anno 1549. the Title still enjoyed, though but little else, by the seventh Lord of this Name and Family; most of the Lands being dismembred from the House by the unparallel'd Impudence (to give it no worse name) of his elder brother.

Some Bishops I find consecrated about this time also, to make the stronger party for the Queen in the House of Peers; no more Sees actually voided at that time to make Room for others, though many in a fair way to it, of which more hereafter. Hooper of Gloucester commanded to attend the Lords of the Council on the 22 of August, and committed prisoner not long after, was outed of his Bishoprick immediately on the ending of the Parliament, in which all Consecrations were declared to be void and null, which had been made according to the Ordinall of King Edward the 6th. Into whose place succeeded James Brooks Doctor in Divinity, sometimes Fellow of Corpus Christi, and Master of Balliol Colledge in Oxon; employed not long after as a Deleгат from the Pope of Rome in the proceedings against the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he condemned to the stake. To Taylor (of whose death we have spoken before) succeeded Doctor John White in the See of Lincoln, first School-master, and after Warden of the Colledge near Winchester, to the Episcopall See whereof we shall find him translated Anno 1556. The Church of Rochester had been void ever since the removall of Doctor Story to the See of Chichester, not suffered to return to his former Bishoprick, though dispoiled of the later: But it was now thought good to fill it, and Maurice Griffin, who for some years had been the Archdeacon, is consecrated Bishop of it on the first of April. One Suffrage more was gained by the repealing of an Act of Parliament, made in the last Session of King Edward, for dissolving the Bishoprick of Durham; till which time, Doctor Cuthbert Tunstall, though restored to his Liberty, and possibly to a good part also of his Churches Parrimony, had neither Suffrage as a Peer in the House of Parliament, nor could act any thing as a Bishop in his own Jurisdiction. And with these Consecrations and Creations I conclude this year.

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THE next begins with the Arrivall of the Prince of Spain, waisted to England with a Fleet of one hundred and sixty sail of Ships, twenty of which were English, purposely sent to be his Convoy, in regard of the warrs, not then expired, betwixt the French and the Spaniards. Landing at Southampton on the 19th. of July (on which day of the month in the year foregoing the Queen had been solemnly proclaimed in London) he went to Winchester with his whole Retinue on the 24th. where he was received by the Queen with a gallant Train of Lords and Ladies; solemnly married the next day, being the Festival of St. James, (the supposed Tutelary Saint of the Spanish Nation) by the Bishop of Winchester; at what time the Queen had passed the eight and thirtieth year of her age, and the Prince was but newly entred on his twenty seventh. As soon as the Marriage-Rites were celebrated, Hieronimo the Emperors Embassador, presented to the King a Donation of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which the Emperor his father had resigned unto him. Which presently was signified, and the Titles of the King and Queen proclaimed by sound of Trumpet in this following Style. PHILIP and MARY, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, Ireland, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily, Arch-Dukes of Austria, Dukes of Millain, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Ausperge, Flanders, and Tirroll, &c. At the proclaiming of which Style, (which was performed in French, Latine, and English) the King and Queen showed themselves hand in hand, with two Swords born before them, for the greater stare, or in regard of their distinct Capacity in the publick Government. From Winchester they removed to Basing, and so to Windsor, where Philip on the 5th. of August was Installed Knight of the Garter, into the fellowship whereof he had been chosen the year before. From thence the Court removed to Richmond by land, and so by water to Suffolk-place in the Burrough of Southwark, and on the 12th. of the same month made a magnificent passage thorow the principal Streets of the City of London, with all the Poms accustomed at a Coronation. The Triumphs of which Entertainment had continued longer, if the Court had not put on mourning for the death of the old Duke of Norfolk, who left this life at Framingham Castle in the month of September, to the great sorrow of the Queen, who entirely loved him.

Philip thus gloriously received, endeavoureth to show his Grandure, to make the English sensible of the benefis which they were to partake of by this Marriage, and to engravate himself with the Nobility and People in all generous ways. To which end, he caused great quantity of Bullion to be brought into England, loaded in twenty Carts, carrying amongst them twenty seven Chests, each Chest containing a Yard and some inches in length, conducted to the Tower on the second of October, by certain Spaniards and English-men of his Majesties Guard. And on the 29th. of January then next following, ninety nine Horses and two Carts, laden with Treasures of Gold and Silver, brought out of Spain, was conveyed through the City to the Tower of London, under the conduct of Sir Thomas Gresham the Queens Merchant, and others. He prevailed also with the Queen for discharge of such Prisoners as stood committed in the Tower, either for matter of Religion, or on the account of Wyatts Rebellion, or for engaging in the practice of the Duke of Northumberland. And being gratified therein according unto his desire, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, and certain others of the Councill, were sent unto the Tower on the 18th. of January, to see the same put in execution; which was accordingly performed, to the great joy of the Prisoners, amongst which were the Archbishop of York, ten Knights, and many other persons of name and quality. But nothing did him greater honour amongst the

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English, than the great pains he took for procuring the enlargement of the Earl of Devonshire, and the Princeesse Elizabeth, committed formerly on a suspicion of having had a hand in *Wynt's* Rebellion, though *Wynt* haughtyly disavowed it at the time of his death. It was about the Feast of *Easter* that the Earl was brought unto the Court, where having obtained the leave to travell, for which before he had petitioned in vain, he pass'd the Seas, cross'd *France*, and came into *Italy*; but he found the air of *Italy* as much too hot for him, as that of *England* was too cold, dying at *Padua* in the year 1556. the eleventh and last Earl of Devonshire, of that noble Family. About ten days after his enlargement, followed that of the Princeesse Elizabeth, whose coming to the Court, her entertainment with the Queen, and what else followed thereupon, we shall see hereafter.

But we have run our selves too far upon these occasions, and therefore must look back again on that which followed more immediately on the Kings reception; the celebrating of whose Marriage opened a fair way for the Cardinals coming, so long expected by the Queen, and delayed by the Emperour, by whom retarded for a while when he was in *Italy*, and openly detained at *Dilling*, a Town in *Germany*, as he was upon his way towards *England*. From thence he writes his Letters of Expostulation, representing to the Emperour the great scandal which must needs be given to the Churches enemies, in detaining a Cardinal-Legat, Commissioned by his Holinesse for the peace of Christendom, and the regaining of a Kingdom. Which notwithstanding, there he stayeth, till the Articles of the Marriage were agreed on by the Queen's Commissioners, and is then suffered to advance as far as *Brussells*, upon condition, that he should not passe over into *England* till the consummation of the Marriage. The Interim he spends in managing a Treaty of Peace betwixt the Emperour and the French; which sortd to no other effect, but onely to the setting forth of his dexterity in all publick businesses. And now the Marriage being past, the Emperour is desired to give him leave to come for *England*; and *Pole* is called upon by Letters from the King and Queen to make haste unto them, that they might have his presence and assistance in the following Parliament; and in the mean time, that they might advise upon such particulars as were to be agreed on, for the honour and advantage of the See Apostolick. Upon the Emperour's dismissal he repairs to *Calais*, but was detained by cross winds till the 24 th. of *November*; at which time we shall find the Parliament sitting, and much of the businesse dispatched to his hand in which he was to have been advised with.

The businesse then to be dispatched was of no small moment, no lesse than the restoring of the Popes to the Supremacy, of which they had been dispossessed in the time of King *Henry*. For smoothing the way to which great work, it was thought necessary to fill up all Episcopall Sees, which either Death or Deprivation had of late made vacant. *Holgate* Archbishop of *York* had been committed to the Tower on the 4 th. of *October*, Anno 1553. from whence released upon *Philips* intercession on the 18 th. of *January*: Marriage and Herefie are his crimes, for which deprived during the time of his imprisonment. Doctor *Nicolas Heath* succeeded him in the See of *York*, and leaves the Bishoprick of *Worcester* to Doctor *Richard Pates*, who had been nominated by King *Henry* the Eighth, Anno 1534. and having spent the intervening twenty years in the Court of *Rome*, returned a true servant to the Pope, every way fitted and instructed to advance that See. *Goodrich* of *Elie* left his life on the 10 th. of *April*, leaving that Bishoprick to Doctor *Thomas Thurlby*, Bishop of *Norwich*, (one that knew how to stand his ground in the strongest tempest) and Doctor *John Hopton*, heretofore Chaplain and Controulour of Queen *Mary's* Household, when but Princeess onely, is made Bishop of *Norwich*. *Barlow* of *Wells* having abandoned that dignity which he could not hold, had for his Successor Doctor *Gilbert Bourn* Arch-Deacon of *London*, and Brother of Sir *John Bourn*, principal Secretary of Estate. Sufficiently recompensed by this

this preferment, for the great danger which he had incurred the year before, when the Dagger was thrown at him, as he preached in *St. Paul's Church-yard*. *Harley of Hereford* is succeeded by *Puresew* (otherwise called *Wharton*) of *St. Asaph*; who had so miserably waited the Patrimony of the Church in the time of King *Edward*, that it was hardly worth the keeping. For the same sins of *Protestantism* and *Marriage*, old *Bush of Brilow*, and *Bira of Chester* (the two first Bishops of those Sees) were deprived also; the first succeeded to by *Holiman*, once a Monck of *Reading*; the last by *Cole*, sometimes Fellow of *Magdalen*, and afterwards Master of *Balio College in Oxon*. Finally, in the place of Doctor *Richard Sampson* Bishop of *Cowenry* and *Lichfield*, who left this life on the 25th of *September*, Doctor *Radolph Bayne*, who had been *Hell. in* Reader in *Paris* in the time of King *Francis*, was consecrated Bishop of that Church; a man of better parts, but of a more inflexible temper than his Predecessor.

And now the Parliament begins, opened upon the 11th of *November*, and closed on the 16th of *January* then next following. It had been offered to consideration in the former Session, That all Acts made against the Pope in the Reign of King *Henry* might be declared null and void, for the better encouragement of the Cardinal to come amongst us. But the Queen had neither eloquence enough to perswade, nor power enough to awe the Parliament, to that Concession: Nothing more hindred the designe than general fear, that if the Popes were one restored to their former power, the Church might challenge restitution of her former possessions; Do but secure them from that fear, then Pope and Cardinals might come and welcome. And to secure them from that fear, they had not onely the promise of the King and Queen, but some assurance underhand from the Cardinal-Legat, who knew right well, that the Church Lands had been so chopped and changed by the two last Kings, as not to be restored without the manifest ruine of many of the Nobility, and most of the Gentry, who were invested in the same. Secured on both sides, they proceed according to the King's desires, and passe a general Act for the repealing of all Statutes, which had been made against the Power and Jurisdiction of the Popes of *Rome*. But first they are to be intreated to it by the Legate himself; for the opening a way to whose reception, they prepared a Bill, by which he was to be discharged of the Attainture which had passed upon him in the year 1539. restored in Blood, and rendred capable of enjoying all those Rights and Privileges, which formerly he stood possessed of in this Kingdom. For the passing of which Bill into Act, the King and Queen vouchsafed their presence, as soon as it was fitted and prepared for them, not staying till the end of the Session as at other times, because the businesse might not suffer such a long delay.

It was upon the 24th of *November* that the Cardinal came first to *London*, and had his Lodgings in or near the Court, till *Lambeth-house* could be made ready to receive him. Having reposed himself for a day or two, the Lords and Commons are required to attend their Majesties at the Court, where the Cardinal, in a very grave and eloquent speech, first, gave them thanks for being restored unto his Country; in recompence whereof he told them, that he was come to restore them to the Country and Court of Heaven, from which, by their departing from the Church, they had been estranged. He therefore earnestly exhorts them to acknowledge their errors, and cheerfully to receive that benefit which Christ was ready by his Vicar to extend unto them. His Speech is said to have been long and artificial, but it concluded to this purpose, That he had the Keys to open them a way into the Church, which they had shut against themselves, by making so many Laws, to the dishonour and reproach of the See Apostolick; on the revoking of which Laws, they should find him ready to make use of his Keys, in opening the doors of the Church unto them. It was concluded hereupon by both Houses of Parliament, that a Petition should be made in the name of the Kingdom, wherein should be

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declared how sorry they were, that they had withdrawn their obedience from the Apostolick See, and consenting to the Statutes made against it; promising to do their best endeavour hereafter, that the said Laws and Statutes should be repealed; and beseeching the King and Queen to intercede for them with his Holiness, that they may be absolved from the Crimes and Censures, and be received as penitent children into the bosom of the Church.

These things being thus resolved upon, both Houses are called again to the Court on St. Andrews day; where being assembled in the presence of the King and Queen, they were asked by the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*, whether they were pleased, that Pardon should be demanded of the Legat, and whether they would return to the Unity of the Church, and Obedience of the Pope, Supreme Head thereof. To which, when some cried Yea, and the rest said nothing, their silence was taken for consent; and so the Petition was presented to their Majesties in the name of the Parliament. Which being publickly read, they arose, with a purpose to have moved the Cardinal in it; who meeting their desires, declared his readinesse in giving them that satisfaction which they would have craved. And having caused the Authority given him by the Pope to be publickly read, he showed how acceptable the repentance of a sinner was in the sight of God, and that the very Angels in Heaven rejoiced at the conversion of this Kingdom. Which said, they all kneeled upon their knees, and imploring the mercy of God, received absolution for themselves and the rest of the Kingdom; which Absolution was pronounced in these following words:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious Spouse, without spot or wrinkle; and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his Church, He by his mercy absolve you. And waby Apostolick Authority given unto us (by the most holy Lord Pope Julius the 3d his Vicegerent here on earth) do absolve, and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm and the Dominions thereof, from all Heresie and Schism, and from all and every Judgment, Censures and Pains, for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you again unto the unity of our Mother, the holy Church, as in our Letters more plainly it shall appear; In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Which words of his being seconded with a loud Amen by such as were present, he concluded the days work with a solemn Procession to the Chapel, for rendring Prayers and Thanks to Almighty God. And because this great work was wrought on St. Andrews day, the Cardinal procured a Decree or Canon to be made in the Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy, that from thenceforth the Feast of St. Andrew should be kept in the Church of England for a *Majus Duplex*, as the *Rituals* call it, and celebrated with as much solemnity as any other in the year. It was thought fit also, that the actions of the day should be communicated on the Sunday following, being the second of December, at St. Pauls Crosse, in the hearing of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the rest of the City. According to which appointment, the Cardinal went from Lambeth by water, and landing at St. Pauls Wharf, from thence proceeded to the Church, with a Cross, two Pillars, and two Pole-axes of silver born before him. Received by the Lord Chancellor with a solemn Procession, they tarried till the King came from Westminster; Immediately upon whose coming, the Lord Chancellor went into the Pulpit, and preached upon those words of St. Paul, Rom. 13. *Fratres, scientes quia hora est jam nos de somno surgere, &c.* In which Sermon he declared what had been done on the Friday before, in the submission which was made to the Pope by the Lords and Commons, in the name of themselves and the whole Kingdom; and the Absolution granted to them by the Cardinal in the name of the Pope. Which done, and Prayers being made for the whole Estate of the Catholick Church, the

the company was for that time dismissed. And on the *Thursday* after, being the Feast of St. *Nicholas* day, the Bishops and Clergy then assembled in their Convocation, presented themselves before the Cardinal at *Lambeth*, and kneeling reverently on their knees, they obtained pardon for all their Perjuries, Schisms, and Heresies: From which a formal Absolution was pronounced also, that so all sorts of people might partake of the Pope's Benediction, and thereby testify their obedience and submission to him. The news whereof being speedily posted over to the Pope, he caused not onely many solemn Processions to be made in *Rome*, and most parts of *Italy*, but proclaimed a Jubilee to be held on the 24th. of *December* then next comming. For the anticipating of which solemnity, he alleged this reason, That it became him to imitate the father of the Prodigal child; and having received his lost son, not onely to expresse a domestical joy, but to invite all others to partake thereof.

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During this Parliament was held a Convocation also, as before was intimated, *Bonner* continuing President of it, and *Henry Cole*, Archdeacon of *Ely*, admitted to the office of Prolocutor. They knew well how the Cards were plaid, and that the Cardinal was to be entreated not to insist on the restoring of Church Lands, rather to confirm the Lords and Gentry in their present possessions. And to that end, a Petition is prepared to be presented in the name of the Convocation, to both their Majesties, that they would please to intercede with the Cardinal in it. Which Petition being not easie to be met withall, and never printed heretofore, is here subjoynd, according to the tenour and effect thereof in the Latine Tongue.

WE the Bishops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, assembled in Convocation during the sitting of this Parliament, according to the ancient custom, with all due reverence and humility do make known to your Majesties, That though we are appointed to take upon us the care and charge of all those Churches, in which we are placed as Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Parsons, or Vicars; as also of the Souls therein committed to us, together with all Goods, Rights and Privileges therunto belonging, according to the true intent and meaning of the Canons made in that behalf; and that in this respect we are bound to use all lawfull means for the recovery of those Goods, Rights, Privileges, and Jurisdictions, which have been lost in the late desperate and pernicious Schism, and to regain the same unto the Church, as in her first and right estate; Yet notwithstanding, having took mature deliberation of the whole matter amongst our selves, we cannot but ingenuously confesse, that we know well how difficult a thing, if not impossible, it is, to recover the said Goods unto their Churches, in regard of the manifold unavoidable Contrails, Sales, and Alienations, which have been made about the same; and that if any such thing should be attempted, it would not onely redound to the disturbance of the publick peace, but be a means, that the unity in the Catholick Church, which by the goodness of your Majesties had been so happily begun, could not obtain its desired effect, without very great difficulty. Wherefore preferring the publick good and quiet of the Kingdom, before our own private commodities, and the salvation of so many souls, redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, before any earthly things whatsoever, and not seeking our own, but the things of Jesus Christ, we do most earnestly and most humbly beseech your Majesties, that you would graciously vouchsafe to intercede in our behalf with the most reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, Legat à Latere, from his Holinesse, our most serene Lord, Pope Julius the third, as well to your most excellent Majesties, as to the whole Realm of England, that he would please to settle and confirm the said Goods of the Church, either in whole or in part, as he thinks most fit, on the present occupants thereof, according to the powers and faculties committed to him, by the said most serene Lord the Pope; thereby preferring the publick good before the private, the peace and tranquillity of the Realm before suites and troubles, and the salvation of Souls before earthly treasures. And for our parts, we do both now, and for all times comming, give consent to all and every thing, which by the said Lord Legat shall, in this case, be finally ordained

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ordained and concluded on; humbly beseeching your Majesties, that you would graciously vouchsafe to perswade the said Lord Cardinal in our behalf, not to show himself in the Premises too strict and difficult. And we do further humbly beseech your Majesties, that you would please, according to your wonted goodwille, to take such course, that our Ecclesiastical Rights, Liberties, and Jurisdictions, which have been taken from us, by the iniquity of the former times, and without which we are not able to discharge our common duties, either in the exercise of the pastoral Office, or the care of souls committed to our trust and care, may be again restored unto us, and be perpetually preserved inviolable both to us and our Churches; and that all lawes which have been made to the prejudice of this our jurisdiction, and other Ecclesiastical liberties, or otherwise have proved to the hindrance of it, may be repealed, to the honour of God, as also to the temporal and spiritual profit, not only of your said most excellent Majesty, but of all the Realm; giving our selves assured hope, that your most excellent Majesties, according to your singular piety to almighty God, for so many and great benefits received from him, will not be wanting to the necessities of the Kingdom, and the occasions of the Churches, having cure of souls, but that you would consider and provide as need shall be, for the peace thereof.

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Which Petition being thus drawn up, was humbly offered to the Legare, in the name of the whole Convocation, by the Lord Chancellor, (who was present at the making of it) the Prolocutor and six others of the lower house. And it may very well be thought to be welcome to him, in regard it gave him some good colour for not touching on so harsh a thing, as the restoring of Church lands. Concerning which, he was not ignorant that a message had been sent to the Pope in the name of the Parliament, to desire a confirmation of the sale of the lands belonging to Abbies, Chantries, &c. or otherwise to let him know that nothing could be granted in his behalf. And it is probable, that they received some fair promises to that effect, in regard that on the New years day then next following, the Act for restoring the Pope's supremacy, was passed in both houses of Parliament, and could not but be entertain'd for one of the most welcome New years Gifts which ever had been given to a Pope of Rome. What the Pope did in retribution, we are told by *Steidan*, in whom we find that he confirmed all those Bishops in their several Sees, which were of Catholick persuasions, and had been consecrated in the time of the Schism, as also that he established such new Bishopricks which were erected in the time of King Henry the 8th, and made good all such marriages, as otherwise might be subject unto dispute. He adds a confirmation also, (which I somewhat doubt) of the Abby lands, and telleth, that all this was ratified by the Bull of Pope *Paul* the 4th. He dispensed also by the hand of the Cardinal, with irregularity in several persons, confirmed the Ordination and Institution of Clergy men in their Callings and Benefices; legitimated the children of forbidden marriages, and ratified the processes and sentences in matters Ecclesiastical. Which general favours notwithstanding, every Bishop in particular, (except only the Bishop of *Landaff*) most humbly sought, and obtained pardon of the Pope for their former error, not thinking themselves to be sufficiently secured by any general dispensation, how large soever. And so the whole matter being transacted to the content of all parties, (the poor Protestants excepted only) on Friday the 25th. of January, being the Feast of the Conversion of Saint *Paul*, there was a general and solemn Procession throughout London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the Catholick Church. Wherein (to set out their glorious pomp) were ninety Crosses, one hundred sixty Priests and Clerks, each of them attired in his Cope; and after them eight Bishops in their Pontificalibus, followed by *Bonner*, carrying the Popish *Pix* under a Canopy, and attended by the Lord Mayor and Companies in their several Liveries. Which solemn Procession being ended, they all returned into the Church of St *Paul*, where the King and Cardinal, together with all the rest, heard Mass, and the next day the Parliament and Convocation were dissolved.

Nothing

Nothing now rested, but the sending of a solemn Embassy in the name of the King and Kingdom, to the Court of *Rome*, for testifying their submission to his Holiness, and receiving his Apostolical benediction. To which employment were designed Sir *Anthony Brown*, who on the 2d. of *September* had been created Viscount *Mountacute*, in regard of his descent from Sir *John Nevil*, whom King *Edward* the 4th. advanced unto the Title of *Marquiss Mountacute*, as being the second son of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Sarisbury*, and *Alce* his wife, daughter and heir of *Thomas Mountacute*, the last and most renowned Earl of *Sarisbury*, of that Name and Family. With whom was joined in Commission as another Ambassador extraordinary, Dr *Thomas Thurlby*, Bishop of *Ely*, together with Sir *Edward Kyn*, appointed to reside as Ordinary in the Papal Court. On the 18th day of *February*, they began their journey, but found so great an alteration when they came to *Rome*, that Pope *Janus* was not only dead, but that *Marcellus*, who succeeded him, was deceased also; so that the honour and felicity of this address from the King of *England*, devolved on Cardinal *Caraffa*, (no great friend of *Poles*) who took unto himself the name of *Paul* the 4th. on the first day of whose Papacy, it chanced that the three Ambassadors came first to *Rome*. It was in the first Consistory also, after his inauguration, that the Ambassadors were brought before him: Where prostrating themselves at the Pope's feet, they in the name of the Kingdom, acknowledged the faults committed, relating them all in particular, (for so the Pope was pleas'd to have it) confessing that they had been ungrateful for so many benefits received from the Church, and humbly craving pardon for it. The pardon was not only granted, and the Ambassadors lovingly imbraced; but as an overplus, the Pope was pleas'd to honour their Majesties with the Title of Kings of *Ireland*. Which Title he conferred upon them, by the authority which the Popes pretend to have from God, in erecting and subverting Kingdoms. He knew right well that *Ireland* had been erected into a Kingdom by King *Henry* the 8th. and that both *Edward* the 6th. and the Queen now reigning, had always used the Title of Kings of *Ireland* in the style Imperial: But he conceived himself not bound to take notice of it, or to relinquish any privilege which had been exercised in that kind by his predecessors. And thereupon he found out this temperament, that is to say, to dissemble his knowledge of that which had been done by *Henry*, and of himself to erect the Island into a Kingdom; that so the world might be induced to believe, that the Queen rather used that Title as indulged by the Pope, than as assumed by her Father. And this he did according to a secret mystery of Government in the Church of *Rome*, in giving that which they could not take from the possessor; as on the other side some Kings to avoid contentions, have received of them their own proper goods, as gifts; and others have dissembled the knowledge of the Gift, and the pretence of the Giver.

These things being thus dispatched in publick, the Pope had many private discourses with the Ambassadors, in which he found fault that the Church goods were not wholly restored; saying, that by no means it was to be tolerated, and that it was necessary to render all, even to a farthing. He added, that the things which belong to God, could never be applied to humane uses, and that he who withholdeth the least part of them, was in continual state of damnation; that if he had power to grant them, he would do it most readily, for the fatherly affection which he bare unto them, and for the experience which he had of their filial obedience; but that his authority was not so large as to prophane things dedicated to Almighty God; and therefore he would have the people of *England* be assured, that these Church lands would be an *Anathema*, or an accursed thing, which by the just revenge of God would keep the Kingdom in perpetual infelicity. And of this he charged the Ambassadors to write immediately, not speaking it once or twice only, but repeating it upon all occasions. He also told them that the *Peter-Pence* ought to be paid as soon as might be, and that according to the custome he would send a Collector for that

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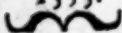
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that purpose, letting them know, that himself had exercised that charge in England, for three years together; and that he was much edified by seeing the forwardness of the people in that contribution. The discourse upon which particular he closed with this, that they could not hope that St *Peter* would open to them the gates of Heaven, as long as they usurped his goods on earth. To all which talk the Ambassadors could not chuse but give a bearing, and knew that they should get no more at their coming home.

At their departure out of England, they left the Queen in an opinion of her being with child, and doubted not but that they should congratulate her safe delivery, when they came to render an account of their employment; but it proved the contrary. The Queen about three months after her marriage, began to find strong hopes, not only that she had conceived, but also that she was far gone with child. Notice whereof was sent by Letters to *Bonner*, from the Lords of the Council, by which he was required to cause *Te Deum* to be sung in all the Churches of his Diocess, with continual prayers to be made for the Queen's safe delivery. And for example to the rest, these commands were executed first on the 28th. of November, Dr *Chadsey* one of the Prebends of *Paul's* preaching at the Cross, in the presence of the Bishop of London, and nine other Bishops, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen attending in their scarlet Robes, and many of the principal Citizens in their several Liveries. Which opinion gathering greater strength with the Queen, and belief with the people, it was Enacted by the Lords and Commons then sitting in Parliament, "That if it should happen to the Queen otherwise than well in the time of her travel, that then the King should have the politick Government, Order and Administration of this Realm, during the tender years of her Majestie's issue, together with the Rule, Order, Education and Government of the said issue." Which charge as he was pleased to undergo at their humble sute, so they were altogether as forward to confer it on him; not doubting, but that during the time of such Government, he would by all wayes and means, study, travail, and employ himself to advance the weal, both publick and private, of this Realm, and Dominions thereunto belonging, according to the trust reposed in him, with no less good will and affection, than if his Highness had been naturally born amongst us. Set Forms of Prayers were also made for her safe delivery, and one particularly by *Weston*, the Prolocutor of the first Convocation; in which it was prayed, *That she might in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that she forgetting the trouble, might with joy, laud and praise, &c.* Great preparations were also made of all things necessary, against the time of her delivery, which was supposed would fall out about *Whitsun* tide, in the month of June, even to the providing of Midwives, Nurses, Rockers and the Cradle too. And so far the hopes thereof were entertained, that on a sudden rumour of her being delivered, the bells were rung, and bonfires made in most parts of London. The like solemnities were used at *Antwerp*, by discharging all the Ordnance in the English ships; for which the Mariners were gratified by the Queen Regent with 100 Pistols. In which, as all of them seem'd to have a spice of madness in them, so none was altogether so wild as the Curate of St *Anns* near *Aldersgate*, who took upon him after the end of the Procession, to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a Prince it was, the like whereof had never been seen.

But so it hapned, that notwithstanding all these triumphs, it proved in fine, that the Queen neither was with child at the present, nor had any hopes of being so for the time to come. By some it was conceived, that this report was raised upon policy only, to hold her up in the affection of her husband, and the love of her subjects, by others, that she had been troubled with a Tympany, which not only made her belly swell, but by the windiness of the disease, possess'd her with a fancy of her being quick. And some again have left in writing, that having had the misfortune of a false conception, which bred in her a

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flesh y and informed substance, by the Physicians called a *Mora*, the continual increase whereof, and the agitation it made in her, occasioned her to believe what she most desired, and to report what she believed. But this informed lump being taken from her with no small difficulty, did not onely turn her supposed joy to shame and sorrow, but made much game amongst some of the *Zwinglian* Gospellers, (for I cannot think, that any true English Protestant could make sport thereat) who were so far from desiring that the Queen should have any Issue to succeed in the Throne, that they prayed God by shortning her days to deprive her of it. Insomuch that one *Rise*, the Minister to a private Congregation in *Bow Church-yard*, did use to pray, *That God would either turn her heart from Idolatry, or else shorten her days.* On which occasion, and some others of the like ill nature, an Act was made in the said Parliaments, for punishing of traitorous words against the Queen; in which it was enacted, That the said Prayers, and all others of the like mischievous quality, should be interpreted to be high treason against the Queen. The like exorbitances I find too frequent in this Queens Reign, to which some men were so transported by a furious zeal, that a Gun was shot at one *Doctor Pendleton*, as he preached at *St. Paul's Cross* on Sunday the 10th. of June, Anno 1554. the Peller whereof went very near him; but the Gunner was not to be heard of. Which occasioned the Queen to publish a Proclamation within few days after, prohibiting the shooting in Hand-guns, and the bearing of weapons. Before which time, that is to say, on the 8th. of April, some of them had caused a Cat to be hanged upon a Gallows, near the Cross in *Cheapside*, with her head shorn, the likenels of a Vestment cast upon her, and her two fore-feet tied together, holding between them a piece of paper in the form of a Wafer. Which tending so apparently to the disgrace of the Religion then by Law established, was showed the same day, being Sunday, at *St. Paul's Crosse*, by the said *Doctor Pendleton*; which possibly might be the sole reason of the mischief so desperately intended to him.

Such were the madnesses of those People; but the Orthodox and sober Protestant shall be brought to a reckoning, and forced to pay dearly for the follies of those men, which it was not in their powers to hinder. The Governours of the Church exasperated by these provocations, and the Queen charging *Wyat's* Rebellion on the Protestant party, she both agreed on the reviving of some ancient Statutes made in the time of King *Richard* the 2d. King *Henry* the 4th. and King *Henry* the 5th. for the severe punishment of obdurate *Hereticks*, even to death it self. Which Act being passed, the three great Bishops of the time were not alike minded for the putting it in execution. The Lord Cardinal was clearly of opinion, that they should rest themselves contented with the restitution of their own Religion; that the said three Statutes should be held forth for a terrour onely, but that no open persecution should be raised upon them; following therein, as he affirmed, the counsell sent unto the Queen by *Charles* the Emperour, at her first coming to the Crown, by whom she was advised to create no trouble unto any man for matter of conscience, but to be warned unto the contrary by his example, who by endeavouring to compell others to his own Religion, had tired and spent himself in vain, and purchased nothing by it but his own dishonour. But the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner* could not like of this, to whom it seemed to be all one, never to have revived the said three Statutes, as not to see them put in execution. That some blood should be drawn in case of refractorinesse, and an incorrigible non-conformity, he conceived most necessary. But he would have the Ax laid onely to the Root of the Tree; the principal supporters of the Hereticks, to be taken away, whether they were of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, or the Lay-Nobility; and some of the more pragmatick preachers to be cut off also; the rest of the people to be spared, as they who meerly did depend on the power of the other. Let but the Shepherds be once smitten, and the whole flock will presently be scattered, without further trouble.

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Well then, said *Bonner* to himself, I see the honour of this work is reserved for me, who neither fear the Emperor's frowns, nor the peoples curses. Which having said, (as if he had been pumping for a resolution) he took his times to make it known unto the other two, that he perceived they were as willing as himself, to have the Catholick Religion entertained in all parts of the Kingdom, though neither of them seemed desirous to set any thing in it, or take the givv on himself; that he was well enough pleased with that reservednesse, hoping they did not mean it for a precedent unto him or others, who had a mind to shew their zeal and forwardness in the Catholick cause. Have I not seen (saith he) that the Hereticks themselves have broke the Ice, in putting one of their own number (I think they called him by the name of *Servetus*) to a cruell death. Could it be thought no crime in them, to take that more severe course against one of their brethren, for holding any contrary doctrine, from that which they had publickly agreed amongst them? And can they be so silly, or so partial rather, as to reckon it for a crime in us, if we proceed against them with the like severity, and punish them by the most extream rigour of their own example? I plainly see, that neither you my Lord Cardinal, nor you my Lord Chancellor, have any Answer to return to my present Argument, which is sufficient to encourage me to proceed upon it. I cannot set Canonically against any of them, but such as live within the compasse of my jurisdiction, in which I shall desire no help nor countenance from either of you. But as for such as live in the Diocesse of *Canterbury*, or that of *Winchester*, or otherwise not within my reach in what place soever, let them be sent for up by order from the Lords of the Council, committed to the *Tower*, the *Fleet*, or any other Prison within my Diocesse, And when I have them in my clutches, let God do so, and more to *Bonner*, if they scape his fingers.

The Persecution thus resolved on, home goes the bloody Executioner, armed with as much power as the Law could give him, and backed by the Authority of so great a King, taking some other of the Bishops to him, converts before him certain of the Preachers of King *Edward's* time, who formerly had been committed to several prisons; of whom it was demanded, Whether they would stand to their former doctrines, or accept the Queens Pardon and Recant? To which it was generally and stoutly answered, That they would stand unto their doctrines. Hereupon followed that *Inquisition for blood* which raged in *London*, and more or less was exercised in most parts of the Kingdom. The first that led the way was Mr. *John Rogers*, a right learned man, and a great companion of that *Tyndal*, by whom the Bible was translated into English in the time of King *Henry*: After whose Martyrdom, not daring to return into his own country, he retired to *Wittenberge* in the Dukedom of *Saxony*, where he remained till King *Edward's* coming to the Crown, and was by Bishop *Ridley* preferred to the Lecture of *St. Pauls*, and made one of the Prebends. Nothing the better liked of for his Patron's sake, he was convented and condemned, and publickly burnt in *Smithfield* on the 4th. of *February*. On the 9th. day of which Month, another fire was kindled at *Glocester* for the burning of Mr. *John Hooper*, the late Bishop thereof, of whom, sufficient hath been spoke in another place; condemned amongst the rest at *London*, but appointed to be burnt in *Glocester*, as the place in which he most had sinned, by sowing the seeds of false doctrine amongst the people. The news whereof being brought unto him, he rejoyced exceedingly, in regard of that excellent opportunity which was thereby offered, for giving testimony by his death to the truth of that Doctrine, which had so oft founded in their ears, and now should be confirmed by the sight of their eyes. The Warrate for whose burning was in these words following, as I find it in the famous Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*.

Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, is by due order of the Law Ecclesiastical condemned, and judged for us most



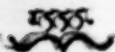
most obstinate, false, and detestable Heretick, and committed to our Secular Power, to be burned, according to the wholesome and good Laws of our Realm, in that case provided: Forasmuch as in those Cities and Dioceses thereof, he hath in times past preached and taught most pestilent Heresies and Doctrines to our Subjects there, we have therefore given order, that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and refuseth mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said City of Gloucester, for the example and terrour of others, such as he hath there seduced and mis-taught, and because he hath done most harm there. And will that you, calling to you some of reputation, dwelling in that Shire, such as you think best, shall repair unto your said City, and be at the said execution, assisting our Mayor and Sheriffs of the same City in this behalf. And forasmuch as the said Hooper is, as other Hereticks, a vain-glorious person, and delighted in his tongue, to persuade such as he hath seduced to persist in the miserable opinions that he has sown amongst them, our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place there, suffered to speak at large, but thither to be led quietly, and in silence, for eschewing of further infection, and such inconveniences as may otherwise ensue in this part. Whereof fail ye not, as ye tender our pleasure, &c.

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The like course was also taken with Bishop *Farrar*, but that I do not find him restrained from speaking his mind unto the people, as the other was: A man of an implausible nature, which rendred him the less agreeable to either side; cast into prison by the Protestant, and brought out to his dear and martyrdom by the Popish party. Being found in prison at the death of King *Edward*, he might have fared as well as any of his rank and order, who had no hand in the interposing for Queen *Jane*, if he had governed himself with that discretion, and given such fair and moderate Answers, as any man in his condition might have honestly done. But being called before Bishop *Gardiner*, he behaved himself so proudly, and gave such offence, that he was sent back again to prison, and after condemned for an obstinate Heretick. But for the sentence of his condemnation, he was sent into his own Diocese, there to receive it at the hand of *Morgan*, who had supplanted and succeeded him in the See of *St. David*. Which cruell wretch having already took possession, could conceive no way safer for his future establishment, than by imbruing his hands in the blood of this learned Prelate, and to make sure with him, for ever claiming a restitution, or coming in by a Remitter to his former estate; in reference whereunto he past sentence on him, caused him to be delivered to the Civil Magistrate, nor desisting till he had brought him to the Stake on the third of *March*, more glad to see him mounting unto Heaven in a fiery Chariot, than once *Elisha* was on the like translation of the Prophet *Elijah*. I shall say nothing in this place of the death and martyrdom of Dr. *Roland Taylor*, Rector of *Hadley* in the County of *Hartford*, and there also burned, *Febr. 9.* Or of *John Cardmaker*, Chancellor of the Church of *Wells*, who suffered the like death in *London* on the last of *May*; Or of *Lawrence Sanders*, an excellent Preacher, martyr'd at *Covenry*, where he had spent the greatest part of his Ministry, who suffered in the same month also, but three weeks sooner than the other; Or of *John Bradford*, a right holy man, and a diligent Preacher, condemned by *Bonner*, and brought unto the Stake in *Smithfield* on the first of *July*; though he had deserved better of that bloody Butcher, (but that no courtesy can oblige a cruel and ungrateful person) in saving the life of Doctor *Bourne* his Chaplain, as before was shewed: Or finally of any of the rest of the noble Army of Martyrs, who fought the Lords Babels in those times; onely I shall insist on three of the principal Leaders, and take a short view of the rest in the general Muster.

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Being resolved to wave the writing of a *Martyrology*, which is done already by my hand in the *Acts* and *Monuments*, I shall insist only upon three of most eminent rank, that is to say, Archbishop *Cranmer*, Bishop *Laiimer*, and Bishop *Ridley*, men of renown, never to be forgotten in the Church of England. Of whom there hath so much been said in the course of this History, that nothing need be added more, than the course of their sufferings. Committed to the Tower by several Warrants, and at several times, they were at once discharged from the Tower of London on the 10th. of April, Anno 1554. Removed from thence to *Windsor*, and at last to *Oxon*. where they were to combat for their lives. A combat not unlike to that of *St Paul* at *Ephesus*, where he is said to fight with beasts after the manner of men; the disputation being managed so tumultuously with shouts and out-cries, and so disorderly without rule or modesty, as might make it no unproper parallel to *St Paul's* encounter. The persons against whom they were to enter the lists, were culled out of the ablest men of both Universities, commissioned to dispute, and authorized so fit as Judges. And then what was to be expected, by the three Respondents, but that their opposites must have the better of the day, who could not be supposed to have so little care of their own reputation, as to pass sentence on themselves. Out of the University of *Oxon* were selected Dr *Weston*, Prolocutor of the Convocation then in being, Dr *Tresham*, Dr *Cole*, Dr *Gylthorp*, Dr *Pie*, Mr *Hampfield*, and Mr *Fecknam*; with whom were joined by the Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*, (who had the nomination of them) Dr *Young* Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, Dr *Glyn*, Dr *Seaton*, Dr *Watson*, Dr *Sadgwick*, and Dr *Atkinson*, of the same University.

The Questions upon which the Disputants were to try their fortune, related to the Sacrament of the blessed Eucharist, and were these that follow. 1. Whether the natural body and blood of Christ be really in the Sacrament, after the words spoken by the Priest, or no? 2. Whether in the Sacrament after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ? 3. Whether the Mass be a sacrifice propitiatory, for the sins of the quick and the dead? Which having been propounded in the Convocation at *Cambridge*, and there concluded in such manner, as had been generally maintained in the Schools of *Rome*, the Vice Chancellor, and the rest of the Disputants which came from thence, could have no power to determine otherwise in the points, when they should come to sit as Judges. Nor is it to be thought, but that as well the *Cambridge* as the *Oxon* Disputants, came well prepared, studied and versed in those Arguments on which they intended to insist; having with all the helps of books, and of personal conference, together with all other advantages which might flatter them with the hopes of an easy victory. But on the other side, the three Defendants had but two dayes of preparation allotted to them, debarred of all access unto one another; not suffered to enjoy the use of their own books and papers; and kept in such uncomfortable places, as were but little different from the common dungeons. But out they must to try their fortune, there being no other choice left them, but to fight or yield; and which made most to the advantage of the other side, they were to try their fortune single, each of them destinated to a several day, so that they could not contribute to the assistance of one another, if their occasions had required it. *Cranmer* begins on the 16th. of April, *Ridley* succeeds upon the next, and *Laiimer* brings up the arreir on the morrow after; each man an army in himself, and to encounter with an army, as the cause was managed.

At the first meeting, when the questions were to be propounded and disputed on, *Weston*, by reason of his place, entertains the Auditory with a short Orati-

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on, wherein he was to lay before them the cause of their assembling at that place and time. But such was his ill luck, as to stumble at that very threshold, and so conclude against himself in the very first opening of the disputation, which he is said to have begun in these following words, *Conversus hodie f. aret profligatus deest hodie hanc Haresin, de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento, &c.* That is to say, *We are assembled hither brethren this day, to confound that desolating Haresin, of the verity of the body of Christ in the Sacrament, &c.* Which gross mistake, occasioned no small shame in some, but more laughter in many. It was observed of him also, that during the whole time of the disputation, he had always a cup of wine, or some other strong liquor standing by him, and that having once the pot in his hand, when an argument was urged by one of the Disputants; which he very well liked of, he cried aloud to him, *urge hoc, urge hoc, nam hoc facit pro nobis.* Which being applied by some of the Spectators to his pot of drink, occasioned more sport and merriment than his first mistake. But let them laugh that win, as the Proverb hath it, and *Wesley* is resolved to win the race, whosoever runs best. The tumult and disorder of this disputation hath been touched before, and may be seen at large, with all the Arguments and Answers of either side, in the *Acts* and *Mss.* Suffice it in this place to know, that having severally made good their appointed dayes, they were all called together on *Friday* the 20th. of that month, *Wesley* then sitting with the rest in the nature of Judges, by whom they were demanded, whether they would subscribe or not; which when they had severally refused to do, their sentence was pronounced by the Prolocutor in the name of the rest, in which they were declared to be no members of the Church, and that therefore, they, their patrons and followers, were condemned as Hereticks. In the reading whereof, they were again severally asked whether they would turn or not; to which they severally answered, *read on in God's name,* for they were resolved not to turn. And so the sentences being pronounced, they were returned again to their several prisons, there to expect what execution would ensue upon it.

And execution there was none to ensue upon it, till the end of the Session of Parliament then next following, because till then, there was no law in force for putting Hereticks to death, as in former times. During which interval, they exercised themselves in their private studies, or in some godly meditations, writing consolatory Letters unto such of their friends as were reduced by the iniquity of the times, to the like extremity: amongst which, as they understood their dear brother Mr *John Hooper*, Bishop of Gloucester, to have been marked out for the slaughter; so that intelligence revived in Bishop *Ridley's* thoughts, the remembrance of that controversy which had been between them (concerning the Episcopal habit) in the time of King *Edward*. There is no question to be made, but that they had forgotten and forgiven that quarrel long before; yet *Ridley* did not think he had done enough, if he left not to the world some testimony of their mutual charity, as well as their consent in doctrine; such as might witness to the world, that they maintained the spirit of unity in the bond of peace. Concerning which he writes to him in this manner following, viz. — But now my dear Brother, forasmuch as I understand by your book, which I have but superficially seen, that we thronghly agree, and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our Religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our dayes, however in times past in certain by-matters and circumstances of Religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I must confess) have a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own spirit. Now I say be assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth, and for the truths sake which abideth in us, as I am persuaded, and by the Grace of God shall abide in us for ever more. And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force and power, exalting high things against the knowledge of God: Let us join hands together in Christ, as if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth,

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let us shake these high Altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons; and withall, brother, let us prepare our selves to the day of dissolution, by that which after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with him, in eternal glory.

Comforted with reciprocal letters of this holy nature, they both prepared themselves for death, in which Hooper had the honour to lead the way, as being more in B. nner's eye when the Act past for reviving the Statutes before mentioned in the case of Heresie. But Hooper having led the way, and many other godly and religious men following the same tract which he had made, it came at last unto the turn of these reverend Prelates to pass through the same sea to the Land of Promise. In order whereunto, a Commission is directed from the Pope to Dr James Brink, Bishop of Gloucester, by which he is authorized as Subdelegate to his Holiness, to proceed in the cause of Thomas Craumer, Archbishop of Canterbury. The like Commission is directed to Dr Martin, and Dr Sioy, to attend the business, as delegated thereunto by the King and Queen, before whom convened in St Mary's Church on the 12th. of September he did his reverence to the two Doctors, as Commissioners for the King and Queen, but could not be perswaded to shew any respect to the Bishop of Gloucester, because commissioned by the Pope. He had before abjur'd the Popes supremacy in the time of King Henry, and would not now submit unto it in the Reign of Queen Mary, desiring the Bishop not to interpret it an affront to his person, to whom otherwise he should gladly pay all due regards, had he appeared in any other capacity than the Popes Commissioner. Nor being able to remove him from that resolution, they propounded to him certain Articles concerning his having been twice married, his denial of the Popes supremacy, his judgement in the point of the blessed Sacrament, his having been declared an Heretick by the late Prolocutor, and the rest of the Commissioners there assembled. To all which Articles he so answered, as to deny nothing of the charge in matter of fact, but only to stand upon his justification in point of Doctrine. The whole proceeding being summed up, he is cited to appear before the Pope within 80 dayes. To which he said that he was most willing so to do, if the King and Queen would please to send him. And so he was returned to the prison from whence he came, and there kept safe enough from making any journey to Rome, remaining in safe custody till he was brought out to suffer death, of which more hereafter.

On the 28th. of the same month, comes out another Commission from the Cardinal Legate, directed to John White, Bishop of Lincoln, James Brink, Bishop of Gloucester, and John Holzman, Bishop of Bristol, or any two of them; enabling them to proceed to the degradation of the other two Bishops, if they retracted not those doctrines, for holding which they had been formerly declared to be Hereticks. But they courageously adhering to their first opinions, and otherwise expressing as little reverence to the Substitutes of the Cardinal Legate, as Craumer had done to the Commissioners of the Pope, the sentence was pronounced upon them to this effect; that is to say. "That so far as much as the said Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions and Heresies contrary to the Word of God, and the received faith of the Church; as first, In denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. 2. In affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration. And 3. In denying the Masse to be a lively sacrifice of the Church for the quick and the dead, and by no means could be reduced from the same: that therefore they the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, did adjudge and condemn them the said N. Ridley, and H. Latimer as Hereticks, both by word and deed, to be degraded from the degree of a Bishop, from Priesthood, and all other Ecclesiastical Orders; declaring them moreover to be no members of the Church, and therefore to be committed to the secular powers, to receive due punishment according to the Tenor of the temporal Lawes.

Laws. According to which Sentence, they were both degraded on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October, and brought unto the Stake in the Town-ditch over against Balliol College on the morrow after, where with great constancy and courage they endured that death, to which they had been pre-condemned before they were heard. *Cranmer* was prisoner at that time in the North-gate of the City, called *Bocardo*, from the top whereof he beheld that most dolefull spectacle; and casting himself upon his knees, he humbly beseeched the Lord to endue them with a sufficient strength of Faith and Hope; which he also desired for himself, whensoever he should act his part on that bloody Theatrer.

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But he must stay the Popes leisure before he was to be brought on the Stage again. The Queen had been acquainted with such discourses, as had passed betwixt the Pope and her Ambassadors, when they were at *Rome*; and she appeared desirous to have gratified him in his demands. But the Kings absence, who set sail for *Calais* on the fourth of September; and the next morning took his journey to the Emperors Court, which was then at *Brussels*, rendered the matter not so feasible as it might have been, if he had continued in the Kingdom. For having called a Parliament to begin on the 21 of October, she caused many of the Lords to be dealt withall touching the passing of an Act for the restoring of all such Lands as had belonged unto the Church, and were devolved upon the Crown, and from the Crown into the hands of private persons, by the fall of Monasteries, and other Religious Houses, or by any other ways or means whatsoever. But such a general aversness was found amongst them, that she was advised to desist from that unprofitable underraking. Certain it is, that many who were cordially affected to the Queens Religion, were very much startled at the noise of this Restitution, insomuch that some of them are said to have clapt their hands upon their swords, affirming, not without some Oaths, that they would never part with their Abbey-Lands as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides. Which being signified to the Queen, it seemed good to her to let fall that sure for the present, and to give them good example for the time to come, by passing an Act, for releasing the Clergy from the payment of first Fruits and Tenths, which had been formerly vested in the Crown in the Reign of her Father. Against which when it was objected by some of the Lords of the Council, that the state of her Kingdoms and Crown Imperial could not be so honourably maintained as in former times, if such a considerable part of the Revenue were dismembered from it; she is said to have returned this answer, That she preferred the salvation of her Soul before ten such Kingdoms. She procured another Act to be passed also, which very much redounded to the benefit of the two Universities, inhibiting all Purveyors from taking up any provisions for the use of the Court within five miles of *Oxon* or *Cambridge*; by means whereof, those Markets were more plentifully served with all sorts of Provisions than in former times, and at more reasonable rates than otherwise they could have been, without that restraint. In her first Parliament, the better to indear her self to the common subject, she had released a Subsidie which was due unto her, by an Act of Parliament made in the time of King *Edward* the sixth. And now to make her some amends, they gave her a Subsidie of four shillings in the Pound for Lands, and two shillings eight-pence in the pound for Goods. In the drawing up of which Act, an Oath, which had been formerly prescribed to all manner of persons, for giving in a just account of their estates, was omitted wholly, which made the Subsidie sink beneath expectation. But the Queen came unto the Crown by the love of the people, and was to do nothing to the hazard of their affections, which she held it by.

At the same time was held a Convocation also, for summoning whereof, a Writ was issued in the name of the King and Queen, to the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitane Church of *Canterbury*; the See being then vacant by the attaindure of Archbishop *Cranmer*. *Bonner* presides in it as before, *Baxhall* then Warden of *Winchester* preacheth (though not in the capacity) at the opening

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ing of it, and Doctor *John Christopherson*, Dean of *Norwich*, is chosen Prolocutor for the House of the Clergy. But the chief business done therein was the granting of a Subsidie of six shillings in the pound to be paid out of all their Ecclesiastical Promotions in three years then following. Nor was it without reason that they were induced to so large a grant; The Queen had actually restored unto them their First-fruits and Tenths, though at that time the Crown was not in such a plentiful condition, as to part with such an annual income. And she had promised also, (as appears by the Records of the Convocation) to render back unto the Church all such Impropriations, Tithes, and portion of Tithes, as were still remaining in the Crown. For the disposing of which Grant to the best advantage, the Cardinal-Legat, at the Queens desire, had conceived an Instrument, which was then offered to the consideration of the Prolocutor, and the rest of the Clergy; it was proposed also by the Bishop of *Elie*, that some certain learned men might be chosen out of the House, to review all the ancient Canons, to fit them to the present state of the Church; and where they found any thing defective in them, to supply that defect, by making such new Canons and Constitutions, as being approved of by the Lords, should be made obligatory to the Clergy, and the rest of the Kingdom. This was well mov'd, and serv'd to entertain the time; but I find nothing in pursuance of it.

But on the other side, the Prolocutor bringing up the Bill of the Subsidies in the end of *October*, propounds three points unto their Lordships, which much conduced to the establishment and advantage of the prejudiced Clergy. The first was, That all such of the Clergy as building on the common report, that the Tenths and First fruits were to be repealed in the following Parliament, had made no composition for the same with her Majesties Officers, might be discharged from the penalty inflicted by the Laws in that behalf. The second, That their Lordships would be pleased to intercede with the Lord Cardinal-Legat, for settling and confirming them in their present Benefices by some special Bull. The third, That by their Lordships means, an Act may be obtained in the present Parliament, for the repealing of the Statute, by which the Citizens of *London*, which refused to make payment of their Tithes, were to be ordered at the discretion of the Lord Mayor of that City; And that from thenceforth, all such censures as concerned Tithes might be heard and determined by the Ordinary, as in other places. To all which Propositions the Bishops cheerfully contented, and so adjourned the Convocation from *Sr. Pauls to Westminster*, that they might have the better opportunity of consulting the Lord-Cardinal in the business; of whom it was no hard matter to obtain the second, and by his power to secure the Clergy in the first; but as for the removall of the Cognisance of the *London* Tithes from the Lord Mayor unto the Bishops, there was nothing done, that Statute still remaining as before it did, to the continual impoverishing and vexation of the City Clergy. Nothing else memorable in this Convocation, but the coming in of the two new Bishops, which had never voted there before; *Puresew* the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, being translated unto *Hereford* in the former year, had made such havock of the Patrimony of the Church of *St. Asaph*, that it lay void above a twelve month before any became Suter for it. But being a Bishoprick, though impoverished, and consequently a step to some richer preferment, it was desired and accepted by Mr. *Thomas Goldnes*, a right zealous *Romanist*, consecrated Bishop hereof in the beginning of *October*, Anno 1555. not many days before the opening of the Parliament and Convocation. And being Bishop here, he procured many Indulgences and other Graces from the Pope then being, for all such persons of each sex, as went on Pilgrimage, or for health, to *St. Winifrids Well*. The like havock had been made of the Lands and Patrimony of the Church of *Bangor*, by *Buckley* the present Bishop of it, preferred unto this See Anno 1541. and continuing on it till this year; who not content to alienate the Lands, and weaken the Estate thereof, resolved to  
rob



rob it of its Bells, for fear perhaps of having any Knell rung out at the Churches Funeral. And not content to sell the Bells, which were five in number, he would needs satisfy himself with seeing them conveyed on ship-board, and had scarce given himself that satisfaction, but he was presently struck blind, and so continued from that time to the day of his death. To whom succeeded Doctor William Glyn, a Cambridge man, but one of the Disputants at Oxford, who received his Episcopal Consecration (if I guess aright) on the same day with Bishop Goldwell.

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And now it will be time to look back on *Cramer*, whom we left under a Citation to the Court of *Rome*, without which, nothing could be done; for by an ancient privilege, no Judgment could be past upon the person of a Metropolitan, before the Pope have taken cognisance of the cause; and eighty days had seemingly been given to *Cramer* for making his appearance in the Court of *Rome*. And though the Pope knew well enough, as well the Archbishops readiness to appear before him, if he were at liberty, as the impossibility of making any such appearance as the case then stood; yet at the end of the said eighty days, he is pronounced by the Pope to be contumacious, and for his contumacy to be Degraded, Excommunicated, and finally delivered over to the Secular Magistrate. According unto which Decree, a second Commission is directed to *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London*, and *Thomas Thoriby* Bishop of *Ely*, to proceed to the Degradation of the said Archbishop: In which Commission it was said with most horrible falsehood, That all things had been so indifferently examined in the Court of *Rome*, that is to say, as well the Articles laid unto his charge, as the Answers which he made unto them, together with the Allegations, Witnesses, and Defences, made or produced by the Counsel on either side, so that nothing had been wanting which was necessary to his just defence. According to which supposition, the said two Bishops being commanded to proceed against him, caused him to be Degraded on the 14th. of *February*, notwithstanding that he appealed from the Pope and them to a General Council, and caused the said Appeal to be drawn and offered in due form of Law. During the interval between his degradation and the time of his death, great pains was taken by some learned men in the University to persuade him to a Retraction of his former Opinions; in which unhappy undertaking, no man prevailed so far as a *Spanish* Friar, by whom it was suggested to him, How acceptable it would be to the King and Queen, how pleasing to the Lords, who most dearly loved him, and how gainfull to himself, in regard both of his soul and his temporal being; assuring him (or at least putting him in good hope) that he should not only have his life, but be restored again to his antient dignity, and that there should be nothing in the Realm which the Queen would not easily grant him, whether it pleased him to make choice of Riches and Honors, or otherwise should desire the sweet retirements of a private life, without the charge and trouble of a publick Ministry; and all this to be compassed without putting himself to any more pains, than the subscribing of his name to a piece of paper, which was made ready for his hand.

By these temptations, and many others of the like alluring and deceitfull nature, he suffered himself to be prevailed upon so far, as to sign the Writing, in which were briefly comprehended the chief points of Doctrine defended in the Church of *Rome*, and by him formerly condemned both in publick and private. The obtaining whereof occasioned great joy amongst the Papists, and no lesse sorrow and astonishment in the hearts of those, who cordially were affected to the Reformation. But all this could not save him from being made a sacrifice to revenge and avarice; The Queen had still a vindictive spirit against him, for the injury which she conceived had been done to her mother; and the Cardinal, who hitherto had enjoyed the profits of the See of *Canterbury* as an usu-fructuary, was altogether as solicitous for getting a right and title to them as the sole Proprietary. No way to pacifie the one, and satisfy

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the desires of the other, but by bringing him (when he least looked for it) to the farall Stake. And to the farall Stake they brought him on the 21 of March, when he had for some time flattered himself in a conceit, like the King of Amaleck, that the bitterness of death was past. Finding the contrary, he first retracts his Retraction, and after punisheth that hand which had subscribed it, by holding it forth into the flame, and suffering it to be consumed before the rest of his body had felt the fire. The residue of his body being burnt to ashes, his heart was found entire & untouched in the midst of theinders; Which possibly may serve as a witness for him, that his heart stood fast unto the Truth, though with his hand he had subscribed some Popish Errors: Which whether it were done out of human frailty on the hope of life, or out of a desire to gain the more time, for finishing his Book against Bishop Gardiner, which he alledged for himself in a Letter to one of his friends; Certain it is, that it had too much in it of a sinful compliance, so much as might have blasted both his fame and memory to all times succeeding, if he had not taken off the scandal, and expiated the offence in so brave a manner. And thus he dyed, leaving an excellent example to all posterity, as well of mans infirmity in so strange a fall, as of Gods infinite grace and mercy, by which he was enabled to recover his former standing.

These goodly Cedars of the Forest being thus cut down, it was not to be hoped that any favour could be shown to the Shrubs and Underwoods, which were grubbed up and felled without any distinction, as well the young Sapling, as the decayed and withered Tree; but more in some parts than in others, according to the sharpness of the Tools and the edge of the Woodman. The waste so great in no place as in Bonner's walk, who seemed to be resolved, that whatsoever could not serve for Timber (toward the building or re-edifying of the Papal palace) should be mark'd for Fuel. No fewer than two hundred are reported to have been burnt within three years, by this cruel and unmercifull Tyrant, without discrimination of sex or age; his fury reaching from John Fesby, a lad of eight years old, by him scourged to death, even to Hugh Lavecork, a cripple sixty eight years old, whom he caused to be burned. The most eminent of all which number was Mr. John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, who though of Gardiners Diocese, was condemned by Bonner, Gardiner being well enough contented to find out the Game, and leave it to be followed by that bloody Hunter: His rage not slackned by the interposings of Alphonso a Spanish Frier, inveighing sharply, in a Sermon before the King, against the savage and unprofitable cruelty of the English Bishops; but as it seems, he measured all the rest by that London-Tyrant, though in most other places they were far more moderate: He that came nearest to him was Doctor John Christopher, Bishop of Chichester, who is recorded to have burnt no lesse than ten in one fire at Lewis, and seventeen others at several times in sundry places. But still the nearer London, the more the heat; insomuch that Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Thornton the Suffragan of Dover, are said to have poured out blood like water; As was also done by Griffin of Rochester, and Downing Chancellor of Norwich, (though somewhat further off from the scene of cruelty) in their several Diocesses. Which character I find of Bishop Bain of Coventry and Lichfield; the gentle birth and breeding of Mrs. Joyce Lewis not being too high for him to reach at, nor the poor condition of Joan Wast, a blind woman in Darby, too low for him to stoop too, whom he condemned unto the fire, as he did many faithfull Ministers, and others of the Masculine sex.

But on the other side, in all the Province of York, I find none brought unto the Stake but George March of Chester, condemned thereto by Bishop Coles; and not much more to have been done in the four Welch Diocesses; in which, besides the burning of Bishop Farrar at Carmarthen by Bishop Morgan; and of Rawlins and White at Cardiff by Bishop Kitching; no extraordinary cruelty seems to have been acted. In the Diocesses of Exeter, Wells, Peterborough,

borough and *Lincoln* (though this last the greatest in the Kingdome) I find mention but of one apiece; of two in that of *Ely*, and of no more than three apiece at *Bristol* and *Salisbury*. In those of *Oxon*, *Glocester*, *Worcester* and *Hereford*, I find none at all, which made those Counties look like the land of *Gath*, where there was nothing but fair weather, when there was so much thunder and lightning in the rest of *Aegypt*. Nor were these storms and tempests in other places, of a short continuance, but held on more or less till the death of the Queen, as appeareth by those five persons which were burnt at *Canterbury* on the 10th. of *November* 1558. being but one full week before the day of her own dissolution. The difference was, that these poor wretches were consumed by the rage of fire, whereas she was carried out of the world in a deluge of water; falling into a Drop sic in the time of her supposed childing, of which she was never perfectly cured till she came to her grave. Nor were these all that suffered in the fury of this persecution. For besides those that suffered Martyrdome in the sight of the world, many are thought to have been made away in prison; but many more, to the number of some scores or hundreds, supposed to have been killed by starving, stinks, and other barbarous usages in their several Jayls. To which if we should add a Catalogue of all those who fled the Kingdom, and put themselves into a voluntary exile, amounting to the number of 800. or thereabouts, I suppose it may be well concluded, that though many persecutions have lasted longer, yet none since *Dioclesian's* time ever raged so terribly. So terribly it raged in one particular, that no persecution of the ren can afford a parallel. *Katherine Gonches*, a poor widow of *St Peter's* Port in the Isle of *Guernsey*, was noted to be much absent from the Church, and her two daughters guilty of the same neglect. Upon this they were presented before *Jaques Amy*, then Dean of the Island, who finding in them that they held opinions contrary to those then allowed, about the Sacrament of the Altar, pronounced them Hereticks, and condemned them to the fire. The poor women on the one side pleaded for themselves, that that doctrine had been taught them in the time of King *Edward*; but if the Queen was otherwise disposed, they were content to be of her Religion. This was fair, but this would not serve; for by the Dean they were delivered to *Eliot Gosling*, the then Bayliff, and by him unto the fire, *July* the 8th. 1556. One of the daughters (*Perotine Maffey* she was called) was at that time great with child; her husband a Minister being in those dangerous times fled the Island; In the middle of the flames and anguish of her torments, her belly brake in sunder, and her child, a goodly boy, fell down into the fire, but was presently snatched up by one *W. Horse*, one of the By-standers. Upon the noise of this strange accident, the cruel Bayliff returned command, that the poor infant must be cast again into the flames; which was accordingly performed; and so that pretty babe was born a Martyr, and added to the number of the *Holy innocents*. A cruelty not parallel'd in any story, not heard of amongst the Nations. But such was the pleasure of the Magistrate, as once in the Massacre of the younger *Maximian*, viz. \* that not any issue should be left of an Heretick Parent.

But to go back again to *Cranmer*, it is to be observed, that as his death opened the way for *Pole* to the See of *Canterbury*, so it was respired the longer out of a politic design to exclude him from it. That *Gardiner* loved him not, hath been said before, and he knew well that Cardinal *Carrassa* (now Pope *Paul* the 4th.) loved him less than he. This put him first upon an hope, that the Pope might be prevailed with to revoke the Cardinal (who had before been under a suspicion in the Court of *Rome*, of having somewhat of the *Lutheran* in him) and to bestow the Cardinal's Cap, together with the *Legantine* power, upon himself, who doubted not of sitting in the chair of *Canterbury* if he gained the rest. Upon which ground he is supposed to have hindered all proceedings against the three *Oxon* Martyrs, from the ending of the Parliament on the 26th. of *January*, till the 12th. of *September* then next following, the Pope

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\* Canis pessimi  
ne catulum re-  
linquendum.



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not sending out any Commission in all that interval, without which *Cranmer* was not to be brought to a condemnation. But at the last, not knowing how much these procrastinations might offend the King, and perhaps preit unto it by *Karn*, the Queen's Ambasiadour, he found himself under a necessity to dispatch the Commission, though he proceeded not to the execution of any part of the sentence, till more than ten weeks after the 80 dayes, which had been given for his appearance in the Court of *Rome*.

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During which time, death puts an end to *Gardiners* projects, who left his life at *Whitshal* on the 12th. of *November*. From whence conveyed by water to his house in *Southwark*, his body was first lapt in lead, kept for a season in the Church of *St Mary Over-Rhe*, and afterwards solemnly interred under a fair and goodly Monument in his Cathedral. The custody of the Great Seal, together with the Title of Lord Chancellor, was upon New years day conferred on *Dr Nicholas Heath*, Archbishop of *York*, a man of great prudence and moderation; but the revenues of the Bishoprick were appropriated to the use of the Cardinal Legate, who purposed to have held it in *Commendam* with the See of *Canterbury*, to which he received consecration on the very next Sunday after *Cranmer's* death. But *Dr John White* Bishop of *Lincoln*, having been born at *Winchester*, and educated in that School, of which he was afterwards chief Master, and finally Warden of that College, ambitiously affected a translation thither. And so far he prevailed by his friends at Court, that on the promise of an annual pension of 1000 l. to the use of the Cardinal, he was permitted to enjoy the Title with the rest of the profits. Which I have mentioned in this place, though this transaction was not made, nor his translation actually performed till the year next following. No other alteration made amongst the Bishops of this time, but that *Voytie* of *Exon*, dies in some part of the year, 1555. and *Dr James Tubberville* succeeds him in the beginning of the year 1556. A man well born, and well befriended, by means whereof he recovered some lands unto his See, which had been alienated from it by his predecessor; and amongst others, the rich and goodly Mannors of *Credinson*, or *Kirton*, in the County of *Devon*, (in former times the Episcopal seat of the Bishop of *Exon*) though afterwards again dismembred from it in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, by Bishop *Cotton*.

It is now time to take into consideration the affairs of State, nothing the better cemented by the blood of so many Martyrs, or jointed any whit the stronger by the secret animosities and emulations between the Lord Chancellor and the Cardinal Legate. Though *Wias's* party was so far suppressed, as not to shew it self visibly in open action, yet such as formerly had declared for it, or wish'd well unto it, had many secret writings against the Queen, every day growing more and more in dislike of her Government, by reason of so many butcheries as were continually committed under her authority. Upon which ground as they had formerly instructed *Elizabeth Crofts* to act the spirit in the wall; so afterwards they trained up one *William Cunsfable*, alias *Featherstone*, to take upon himself the name of King *Edward*, whom he was said to have resembled, both in age and personage. And this they did in imitation of the like practice used in the time of King *Henry* the 6th. by *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, who when he had a mind to claim his Title to the Crown, in regard of his descent by the House of *Mortimer*, from *Lionel* of *Antwerp* Duke of *Clarence*, he caused one *Jack Cade* (a fellow altogether as obscure as this) to take upon himself the name of *Mortimer*, that he might see how well the people stood affected unto his pretensions, by the discovery which might be made thereof on this false allurum. And though this *Featherstone* had been taken and publickly whip'd for it in *May* last past, and thereupon banished into the *North*, where he had been born; yet the confederats resolved to try their fortune with him in a second adventure. The design was to raise the people under colour of King *Edward's* being alive, and at the same time to rob the Exchequer, wherein they knew by some intelligence or other, that 50000 l.

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in good *Spanijh* money had been lately lodged. Few persons of any quality appeared in it, not thinking fit to shew themselves in any new practice against the Queen, till made prosperous by some good success. The chief whom I find mentioned to be privy to it, were *Henry Peckam*, the son of that Sir *Edmond Peckam*, who had been carer of the household to King *Henry* the 8th. One of the *Throgmortons*, and Sir *Anthoni Kingston*. But the first part of the plot miscaried by the apprehending of *Featherstone*, who was arraigned and executed on the 13th. of *March*; and the last part thereof discovered on the 28th. by one of the company. On which discovery Sir *Anthoni Kingston* being sent for, died upon the way; the said *Throgmorton*, with one *Ndall*, were executed at *lyburn* on the 28th. of *April*, one *Stanton* on the 29th. of *May*; *Rosedike* and *Bedell*, on the 8th of *June*; *Peckam* and *Daniel* at the Tower hill, on the 8th. of *July*. *Andrew Duchesne* makes the Lord *Gray*, and one of the *Howards*, to have a hand in this conspiracy; and possibly enough it is, that some of greater eminence than any of those before remembred, might be of counsel in the practice, though they kept themselves out of sight as much as they could, till they found how it would succeed amongst the people.

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In this unquicker condition we must leave *England* for a time, and look on the estate of the *English Churches* on the other side of the sea. That many of the *English Protestants* had forsok the Kingdom, to the number of 800. as well Students as others, hath been said before; who having put themselves into several Cities, partly in *Germany*, and partly among the *Switzers*, and their confederates, kept up the face and form of an *English Church*, in each of their several congregations. Their principal retiring places amongst the last, were *Arrow*, *Zurick*, and *Geneva*, and in the first, the Cities of *Emden*, *Stralsburge*, and *Franckfort*. In *Franckfort* they enjoyed the greatest privileges, and therefore resorted thither in the greatest numbers, which made them the more apt unto Schisms and factions. At their first coming to that place, which was on the 27th. of *June*, Anno 1554. by the power and favour of *John Glanberge*, one of the Senators of that City, they were permitted to have the use of one of their Churches, which had before been granted to such *French* exiles, as had repaired thither on the like occasion; yet so, that the *French* were still to hold their right; the *English* to have the use of it one day. and the *French* another, and on the Lords day so to divide the hours between them, that the one might be no hinderance unto the other. It hath been said also, that there was another condition imposed upon them, of being conform unto the *French* in Doctrine and Ceremonies. Which condition if it were imposed by the Magistrates, not sought by themselves, must needs be very agreeable to the temper and complexion of their principal Leaders; who being for the most part of the *Zuinglian-Gospellers*, at their going hence, became the great promoters of the *Puritan* faction at their coming home. The names of *Whittingham*, *Williams*, *Goodman*, *Wood* and *Sutton*, who appeared in the head of this congregation, declare sufficiently of what Principles and strain they were, how willing they would be to lay aside the face of an *English Church*, and frame themselves to any Liturgie but their own.

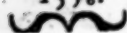
On *July* the 14th. they first obtained a grant of their Church, and on the 29th. took possession of it. The interval they spent in altering and disfiguring the *English Lyturgie*, of which they left nothing but the reading of the *Psalms* and Chapters. Those comfortable interlocutories between the Minister and the People, were no longer used, as favouring in their opinion, of some disorder in the course of the ministratation; the Letany and the Surplice they cast aside, as having too much in them of the Church of *Rome*; the Confession they had altered so, as they conceived most agreeable to their present condition; and for the Hymns which interviened between the Chapters and the Creed, they changed them for such *Psalms* in the *English Meeter*, as had been made by *Sternhold* and *Hopkins* in the time of King *Edward*. The Psalm being done, the Preacher goes into the Pulpit, in which the Minister prayed for the assistance

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of God's Spirit, and so proceeded to the Sermon. Which done, an other Prayer was made for all orders and estates of men, but more particularly for the welfare of the Church of *England*; composed in imitation of the Prayer for the *Church Militant* here on earth, but ending (as that did not) with the *Pater noster*. After which (most extremely out of order) followed the rehearsal of the Articles of the Christian Faith, another Psalm, and finally the dismissal of the people, with *The Peace of God*. This was the form devised for that Congregation, for the imposing whereof on all the rest of the English Churches, they did then use their best endeavours, and for obtruding which on the whole Church of *England* they raised such tumults and commotions in the following times. Growing in love with this fair Babe of their own begetting, they write their Letters of the second of *August* to such of the English as remained at *Stralsburge* and *Zurick*, inviting them to repair to *Franckfort*, and unite themselves unto that Church, which had been there erected with the leave of the Magistrate. But they had heard in both places of those Alterations which had been made at *Franckfort*, in the form of Gods publick Service, and thereupon refused to accept of the invitation, though it seemed to promise them some advantages by the commodious situation of that City in respect of *England*, the great resort of strangers thither at the yearly Marts, plenty of Books, and other helps in the way of study, which were not to be found in the other two Cities. From *Stralsburge* modestly, from *Zurick* resolutely, but from both it was plainly signified, that they resolved to maintain the Order of the Church of *England*. The like Letter had been writ to the English at *Embsen*, of which Congregation Doctor *Scory*, the late Bishop of *Chichester*, was the Super-intendent; and we may readily believe, that they received the like repulse from his Church at *Embsen*, as they had from *Gryndal*, *Sandys*, and *Haddon*, or who had the constituting of the Church of *Stralsburge*; or from *Horn*, *Chambers*, *Parkhurst*, and other of the Students which remained at *Zurick*.

The noise of this new Church at *Franckfort* occasioned *Knox*, who after proved the great incendiary of the Realm and Church of *Scotland*, to leave his Sanctuary in *Geneva*, in hope to make a better market for himself in that Congregation. He had not long before published a seditious Pamphlet, entituled, *The first blast of the Trumpet*, in which he bitterly inveighed against the Government of *Women*, aiming there especially at the three Queen *Maries*, that is to say, *Mary Queen of England*, *Mary Queen of Scots*, and *Mary of Lorraine* Queen Regent of *Scotland*. By which seditious Pamphlet, he had made not onely his own Country too hot for him, but could assure himself of no safety in *France* or *England*. To *Geneva* therefore he retires, and from thence removes to *Franckfort*, as the fitter Scene for his intendments, hoping to get as great a name in this new Plantation, as *Calvin* had gotten in the old. It was about the end of *September* that he came to *Franckfort*, where he took the charge of that Church upon him, *Whittingham* and the rest submitting unto his Apostleship. This gave a new dissatisfaction to the English at *Stralsburge* and *Zurick*, who knew the spirit of the man, and feared the dangerous consequences and effects thereof. Nor was the condition of affairs much bettered by the coming of *Whitehead*, (who afterwards refused the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*) though far the more moderate of the two. New Letters are reciprocated between *Franckfort* and *Zurick*; from *Franckfort* on the 15th. of *November*, in open defiance as it were to the English Liturgy; from *Zurick* on the 28th. in defence thereof, and of their constancy and resolution for adhering to it. The breach growing every day more wide than other, *Gryndal* and *Chambers* came from *Stralsburge* to atone the difference, by whom it was proposed unto them, That the substance of the English Liturgy being retained, there might be a forbearance of some ceremonies and offices in it. But *Knox* and *Whittingham* were as much bent against the substance of the Book, as against any of the circumstances and extrinsicals which belonged unto it. So that no good effect



effect following on this interposition, the Agents of the Church of *Strasburge* return back to their brethren, who by their Letters of the 13th. of December exploitate in vain about it.

In these distractions, some of the *Franckfort* Schismaricks desire, that all divine Offices might be executed according to the order of the Church of *Geneva*; which *Knox* would by no means yield unto, thinking himself as able to make a Rule for his own Congregation, as any *Calvin* of them all. But that the mouths of those of *Strasburge* and *Zurick* might be stopped for ever, he is content to make so much use of him, as by the authority of his judgment to disgrace that Liturgy, which those of *Zurick* did contend for. He knew well how he had belurred himself in quarrelling the first Liturgy of King *Edward* the 6th. and nothing doubreth, but that the second (though reviewed on his importunity) would give him as little satisfaction as the other did. To this intent, the Order of the *English Liturgy* is drawn up in Latine, transmitted to him by *Knox* and *Whittingham*, by his infallible judgment to stand or fall. The Oracle returns this answer on the 31 of January, (*In Liturgia Anglicana qualem mihi describitis multas vid. o. tolerabiles ineptias*) That in the Book of *England* as by them described, he had observed many *tolerable fooleries*. Which last words being somewhat ambiguous, as all Oracles are, he explicates himself by telling them, "a That there wanted much of that parity which was to be desired in it; b that it contained many relics of the dregs of Popery; that being there was no manifest impiety in it, it had been tolerated for a season, because at first it could not otherwise be admitted: c But howsoever, though it was lawful to begin with such beggarly rudiments, yet it behoved the learned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christ to endeavour farther, and set forth something more refined from filth and rustinesse. This being sent for his determinate sentence unto *Knox* and *Whittingham*, was of such prevalency with all the rest of that party, that such who formerly did approve, did afterwards as much dislike the *English Liturgy*; and those who at the first had conceived onely a dislike, grew afterwards into an open detestation of it. Those who before had been desirous that the Order of *Geneva* should be entertained; had now drawn *Knox* and *Whittingham* unto them, Mr. *John Fox* (the Author of the *Acts and Monuments*) contributing his approbation amongst the rest. But in the end, to give content to such as remained affected to the former Liturgy, it was agreed upon, That a mixt Form, consisting partly of the Order of *Geneva*, and partly of the Book of *England*, should be digested and received till the first of April; consideration in the mean time to be had of some other course which should be permanent, and obliging for the time to come.

In this condition of affairs, Doctor *Richard Cox*, the late Dean of *Christ-Church* and *Westminster*, first Schoolmaster, and after Almoner to King *Edward* the sixth, pattereth himself into *Franckfort* March 13. accompanied with many *English Exiles*, whom the cause of Religion had necessitated to forsake their Country. Being a man of great learning, of great authority in the Church, and one that had a principal hand in drawing up the Liturgy by Law established; he could with no patience endure those innovations in it, or rather that rejection of it, which he found amongst them. He thereupon first begins to answer the Minister contrary to the Order there agreed on, and the next Sunday after causeth one of his company to go into the Pulpit and read the Letany. Against which doings of his, *Knox* in a Sermon the same day inveigheth most bitterly, affirming many things in the Book of *England* not onely to be imperfect, but superstitious. For the which he is not onely rebuked by *Cox*, but forbidden to preach. Wherewith *Whittingham* being much offended, deals with some of the Magistrates, from whom he procureth an Order of the 22 of March, requiring, That the *English* should conform themselves to the Rules of the *French*. *Knox* had not long before published a seditious Pamphlet, entitled, *An Admonition to Christians*, containing the substance of some Sermons by

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a Non est equitas qua optata foret.  
b Facis Papi-  
stica reliquias.

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by him preached in *England*, in one of which, he affirmed the Emperor to be no lesse an enemy to *Christ* than the *tyrant Nero*. For this, and several other passages of the like dangerous nature, he is accused by *Cox* for Treason against the Emperor; the Senate made acquainted with it, and *Knox* commanded thereupon to depart the City, who makes his Farewel-Sermon on the 25<sup>th</sup>. of *March*, and retires himself unto *Geneva*. Following his blow, *Cox* gets an order of the Senate, by the means of another of the *Glanberges*, by which *Whittingham* and the rest of his faction were commanded to receive the Book of *England*. Against which order, *Whittingham* for a time opposeth, encouraged therein by *Goodman*, who for the love of *Knox* (with whom afterwards he associated in all his practices) had left the grave society of those of *Stralsburg*, to joyn himself unto the Sectaries of *Frankfort*. But finding *Cox* to be too strong for them in the Senate, both they and all the rest who refused conformity, resolved to betake themselves to some other place, as they shortly did.

*Cox* thus made Master of the field, begins to put the Congregation into such order, as might preserve the face and reputation of an English Church. He procures *Whitehead* to be chosen for the principal Pastor, appoints two Ministers for Elders, and four Deacons for assistants to him, recommends Mr. *Robert Horn* (whom he had drawn from *Zurich* thither) to be Hebrew-Reader, *Mullings* to read the Greek Lecture, *Trabern* the Lecture in Divinity, and *Chambers* to be Treasurer for the Contributions, which were sent in from time to time by many godly and well affected persons, both *Dutch* and *English*, for the use of that Church. Having thus settled all things answerable to his own desires, he gives an account thereof to *Calvin*; subscribed by fourteen of the chief men in that Congregation, partly excusing themselves that they had proceeded so far without his consent, and partly rejoicing, that they had drawn the greatest part of that Church to their own opinions. *Calvin* returns his Answer on the last of *May*, which puts his party there on another project, that is to say, to have the whole business referred to some Arbitrators, equally chosen on both sides. But *Cox* was already in possession, great in esteem with the chief Magistrates of the City, and would by no means yield to refer that point, which had already been determined to his advantage. With these debates the time is taken up till the end of *August*, at what time *Whittingham* and the rest of the faction take their leave of *Frankfort*; *Cox* with some few others go to *Basil*, but the main body to *Geneva* as their Mother-City, where they make choice of *Knox* and *Goodman* for their constant Preachers; under which Ministry they reject the whole frame and fabrick of the Reformation made in *England*, conformed themselves wholly to the fashions of the Church of *Geneva*, and therewith entertain also the *Calvinian* Doctrines, to the discredit of the state of the Church of *England* in King *Edward's* time, the great grief of the Martyrs and other godly men in the reign of Queen *Mary*, and to the raising of most unquenchable combustions in all parts of the Church, under Queen *Elizabeth*.

It was not long after the settling of the Liturgie, before *Whitehead* left the Ministry of the English Congregation, which *Cox* obtained for Mr. *Horn*, whom he knew to be a man both of courage & constancy. And that being done, he left the Congregation, and so withdraws himself to *Stralsburg*, there to enjoy the company of *Peter Martyr*, with whom he was intimately acquainted while he lived in *Christ-Church*. By his departure, a new gap is opened to another dissention. Some words had passed at a supper, intended rather for increase of charity, than the breach of friendship, betwixt *Horn* and *Ashley*; *Horn* the chief Pastor of the flock, and *Ashley* a Gentleman of good note in the Lay part of it. Some three dayes after being the 16<sup>th</sup>. of *January*, *Ashley* is cited to appear at the house of one of the Elders, to answer for some words which he had spoken in contempt of the Ministry. But from the Elders, he appeals to the Congregation, amongst whom he prevails so far, that they send a message by two of their

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their company to the Pastor and Elders, requiring them to proceed no further in the cause. *Horn* being backed by *Chambers*, the publick Treasurer, excepts against this message, as decreed at a private Conventicle, nor by the general suffrages of the Congregation, and thereupon resolves to stand to that Authority which formerly had been conferred on him and the rest of the Elders, by the Rules of their Discipline. *Ashley* and his adherents on the other side, declare their former private meeting not to be a Conventicle, protest against the Pastor and Elders, as an adverse party, and therefore not in a capacity to sit as Judges in the present case, and set themselves upon the making of a Book of Discipline, for the curbing the exorbitant power (for such they thought it) of the Pastor and Elders. The Pastor and Elders thereupon forsake their Offices, and on the 5th. of *February*, being the next day of publick meeting, take place amongst the rest as private persons; The Congregation full, but the Pulpit empty, which put the rest upon a humour of electing others to take the publick charge upon them. The noise of these disorders awakes the Magistrates, who command *Horn* and *Chambers* to forbear the congregation, until further Order, and afterwards restoring them to their former authority by publick Edict, were contradicted in it by *Ashley's* party, who having got some power into their hands, were resolved to keep it.

In the mean time, a Book of Discipline had been drawn and tendered to the Congregation, on the 14th. of *February*. According to the Rules whereof, the supreme power in all Ecclesiastical causes was put into the hands of the Congregations, and the disposing of the publick monies committed to the trust of certain Officers, by the name of Deacons. This makes the breach wider than before, *Horn* and his party labouring to retain the old, the other to establish the new Discipline of their own devising. The Magistrates not able to agree the difference, dispatch their Letters unto *Siralsburge* of the 3d. of *April*, desiring Dr *Cox* and Dr *Sandys*, together with *Robert Bertie*, Esq; to undertake the closing of the present rupture. To their arbitrement each party is content to submit the controversy, but differ in conclusion, in the terms of their Reference. Much talk, and no small scandal groweth upon these divisions, nor made the less by the Pen-combats between *Horn* and *Whitehead*. In the end, a form of reconciliation is drawn up by some of the *English*, who more endeavoured the peace of the Church, than the interests of either party. But those who stood for the new Discipline being grown the stronger, refused to submit themselves to any establishment, by which the power of the diffusive body of the Congregation might be called in question. Whereupon *Horn* and *Chambers* depart to *Siralsburge*, from whence *Chambers* writ his Letters to them of the 30th. of *June*, and after, of the 30th. of *July*, but to no effect. They had before proceeded to the election of some new Ministers, *March* the 22d. Against which, though *Horn* and his opposed, yet they concluded it for the present, on the 29th. and now they mean to stand unto the conclusion, let *Horn* and *Chambers* go or tarry, as best pleased themselves. Such were the troubles and disorders in the Church of *Franckfort*, occasioned first by a dislike of the publick Liturgy, before which they preferred the nakedness and simplicity of the *French* and *Genevian* Churches, and afterwards continued, by the opposition made by the general body of the Congregation, against such as were appointed to be Pastors and Rulers over them. Hence the beginning of the Puritan faction, against the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; that of the Presbyterians against the Bishops, or Episcopall Government; and finally that also of the Independents, against the superintendency of the Pastors and Elders. The terrible effects whereof will appear hereafter, if God shall give me means and opportunity to carry on the History of those disturbances which have been raised by the Puritans or Presbyterians, against the Orders of this Church, and the peace of Christendome.

But sorrows seldom go alone, the aberrations from the Government, and Form, and Worship, established in the Church of *England*, drew on an alteration

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tion also in point of Doctrine. Such of the *English* as had retired into *Geneva*, imploy themselves in setting out a new Translation of the Bible in the *English* Tongue, which afterwards they published with certain marginal Notes upon it, mozt of them profitable for the understanding of the Text, but so, that some were heterodox in point of Doctrine, some dangerous, and seditious, in reference to the Civil Magistrare, and some as scandalous in respect of Episcopal Government. From this time the Calvinian Doctrine of Predestination began to be dispersed in *English* Pamphlets, as the only necessary, Orthodox, and saving truth. Knox publisheth a book *Against an adversary of God's predestination*, wherein it is declared; *That whatsoever the Ethnicks and ignorants did attribute to Fortune, by Christians is to be assigned to God's heavenly providence; that we ought to judge nothing to come of Fortune, but that all cometh by the determinate counsel of God; and finally, that it would be displeasing unto God, if we should esteem any thing to proceed from any other; and that we do not only behold him as the principal cause of all things, but also the author, appointing all things to the one or the other by his only counsel.* After comes out a Book first written in *French*, and afterwards by some of them translated into *English*, which they called *A brief Declaration of the Table of predestination*, in which it is put down for a principal Aphorism, that in like manner, as God hath appointed the end, it is necessary also, that God should appoint the causes leading to the same end; but more particularly, that by vertue of God's will all things are done; yea, even those things which are evil and execrable. In another book Entituled *Against a privy Papist*, it is maintained more agreeably to Calvin's Doctrine, *That all evil springeth of Gods Ordinance, and that Gods predestination was the cause of Adam's fall, and of all wickednesses.* And in a fourth book published by Robert Crowley, who afterwards was Rector of the Church of St Giles's nere Cripple-gate, Entituled *The Confutation of 13 Articles*, &c. it is said expressly, *That Adam being so perfect a creature, that there was in him no lust to sin, and yet so weak, that of himself he was not able to withstand the assaults of the subtil Serpent; that therefore there can be no remedy, but that the only cause of his fall, must needs be the predestination of God.* In which book it is also said, *That the most wicked persons that have been, were of God appointed to be even as wicked as they were; and finally, that if God do predestinate man to do things vastly, and without any deliberation, he shall not deliberate at all, but run headlong upon it, be it good or evil.* By which defenders of the absolute decree of reprobation, as God is made to be the Author of sin, either in plain terms or undeniable consequence; so from the same men, and the *Genevian* Pamphlets by them dispersed, our *English* Calvinists had borrowed all their grounds and principles on which they build the absolute and irrespectivve decree of Predestination, contrary to the Doctrine publicly maintained and taught in the time of King Edward.

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IT is now time that we set sail again for *England*, which we left flaming with the fire of Persecutions, and the whole body of the State not a little inflamed with a spirit of treason and sedition; the last ill spirit well allayed by the execution of the chief Conspirators, the other fire not quenched by the blood of the Martyrs, which rather served as oyle to nourish, than as water to extinguish the outrageousness of it. But the Queen hoped to salve the matter on her part by some works of piety, as the restoring of such Church Lands as were in the Crown, for the endowment of some new Convents of Moncks and Friars. But first she thought it necessary to communicate her purpose unto some of the Council, and therefore calling to her the Lord Treasurer Paulet, Inglefield Master of the Wards, Rochester Comptroller of her Household, and Master Secretary Peter, who seemed to be most concerned in it, by their several places, she is said to have spoken to them in these following words:

Then

You are here of Our Counsel, and We have willed you to be called to us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the Lands and Possessions, as well of Monasteries, as of other Churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession. First I do consider that the said Lands were taken away from the Churches aforesaid, in time of Schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the Law of God and of the Church; For the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them. And therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or retain the said Lands for mine, but with all my heart freely and willingly without all paction or condition, here and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy Lord the Pope, or else his Legate, the Lord Cardinal, to the honour of God, and weal'th of this our Realm. And albeit you may object to me again, that considering the State of my Kingdom, the dignity thereof, and my Crown Imperial, cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid; yet notwithstanding (and so she had affirmed before, when she was bent upon the restitution of the Tithes and first Fruits) I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten such Kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold, after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks; Almightie God, which hath given me an husband likewise minded, with no lesse good affection in this behalf, than I am my self. Wherefore I charge and command that my Chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four to morrow do resort together to the most Reverend Lord Legate; and do signifie to him the premises in my Name; and give your attendance upon him, for the more full declaration of the State of my Kingdom, and of the aforesaid possessions accordingly, as you your selves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same.

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Upon this opening of her mind, the Lords perceived it would be to no purpose to perswade the contrary, and therefore thought it requisite to direct some course wherein the might satisfie her desires to her own great honour, and yet not alienate too much at once of the publick Patrimony. The Abby of Westminster had been founded in a Convent of *Benedictines*, or black Monks, by King Edward the Confessor; valued at the suppression by King Henry the 8th. at the yearly sum of 3977. pounds, in good oldrents, Anno 1539. At what time having taken to himself the best and greatest part of the Lands thereof, he founded with the rest a Collegiat Church, consisting of a Dean and secular Canons; *Benson* the last Abbot, being made the first Dean of this new erection. To *Benson* succeeded Dr *Cox*, and to him was substituted Dr *Weston*, in the first of this Queen. And being preferred unto the place by her special favour, 'twas conceived to be no hard matter to perswade him to make a surrendry of his Church into the hands of the Queen, that so it might return to its former nature, and be erected into a Convent of *Benedictines*, without any charge unto the Crown. And this they thought would be the easier brought to pass, because by the preferment of Dr *Owen Oglethorpe* to the See of *Carlisle*, the Deanry of *Windsor* would be void, which was considered as a sufficient compensation, if bestowed on *Weston*, for his surrendry of the other. But they found a greater difficulty in it than was first imagin'd, *Weston* appearing very backward in conforming to the Queens desires, partly out of a dislike which he had of the project (he being one that never liked the profession of *Monkery*) and partly out of an affection which he had to the place seated so opportunely for the Court, and all publick businesses. But at the last he yielded to that opportunity which he was not able to resist, and thereby gained so much displeasure from the Cardinal Legate, that before the end of the next year, Anno 1557. he was outed of his Deanry of *Windsor*, and all his other Ecclesiastical promotions, upon an information of his being taken in the act of adultery, which otherwife perhaps might have been pardoned or connived at in

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him, as in many others. But willing or unwilling he had first surrender'd the Church of *Westminster*, which the Queen stocked with a new Convent of *Benedictines*, consisting of an Abbot and fourteen Monks, which with their officers, were as many as the Lands then left unto it could well maintain. And for the first Abbot, she made choice of Dr *John Fecknam*, a learned, grave, and moderate man, whom she had formerly made Dean of *St Paul's*, in the place of Dr *William May*, and now made choice of Dr *Henry Cole*, Arch-Deacon of *Ely*, and Prolocutor of the Convocation, Anno 1555. to succeed him in it.

It was upon the 21 of *November*, that the new Abbot and his Monks entred on the possession of their ancient Convent, which they held not fully out three years, when it was once again dissolved by Act of Parliament, of which more hereafter. Which fate betel the rest of her foundations also, two of which cost her little more than this at *Westminster*. A Convent of *Observants* (being a reformed Order of *Franciscan* Friars) had been founded by King *Henry* the 7th. near the Mannor of *Greenwich*, and was the first which felt the fury of King *Henry* the 8th. by reason of some open opposition made by some of the Friars in favour of Queen *Katherine*, the mother of the Queen now reigning. Which moved her in a pious gratitude, to re-edifie that ruined house, and to restore as many as could be found of that Order, to their old habitations; making up their Corporation with some new *Observants*, to a competent number. She gathered together also a new Convent of *Dominicans*, or *black Friars*, for whom she provided an house in *Smithfield*, in the City of *London*, fitting the same with all conveniences both for divine Offices, and other necessary uses. And having done this, she was at no more charges with either of them; for both the *Observants* and *Dominicans* being begging Fryers, might be resembled not unfitly to a swarm of Bees, which being provided of an hive, are left to make their combs, and raise themselves a livelihood by their natural industry.

But so she went not off in her other foundations, which were to be provided of some proportionable endowment out of the revenues of the Crown, towards their support. At *Sion* nere *Brentford*, in the Countie of *Midd'sex*, there had been anciently a house of religious women, Nuns of the Order of *St Bridget*, dissolv'd as were all the rest, by King *Henry* the 8th. Most of the old ones dead, and the younger married. Yet out of such of the old Nuns as remained alive, and the addition of some others, who were willing to embrace that course of life, a competent number was made up for a new Plantation; but seated as before at *Sion*, which the Queen repaired, and laid unto it a sufficient estate in Lands for their future maintenance. Which house being afterwards dissolved also by Queen *Elizabeth*, came first to the possession of Sir *Thomas Perrot*, who gave it to his wife, the Lady *Dorothy*, one of the daughters of *Walter Devereux*, Earl of *Essex*; by whom, being after married to *Henry* Lord *Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, it was left for a retiring house to that Noble Family, who do still enjoy it. At *Sheen* on the other side of the water, there had been anciently another religious house, not far from a mansion of the Kings, to which they much resorted till the building of *Richmond*. This house she stock'd with a new Convent of *Carthusians* (corruptly called the *Charter-house* Monks) which she endowed with a revenue great enough to maintain that Order, which profess more abstemiousness in diet, and sparingness of expence in all other things, than any others which embraced a Monastical life. And the next year having closed up the West end of the Quire or Chancel of the Church of *St Johns* near *Smithfield* (which was all the Protector *Sommerset* had left standing of it) she restored the same to the Hospitallry of Knights of *St John*, to whom it formerly belonged, assigning a liberal endowment to it for their more honourable subsistence. Over whom she placed Sir *Thomas Tresham* for the first Lord Prior, a Gentleman of an ancient Family, and one that had deserv'd exceeding well of her, in defence of her claim against Queen *Jane*, who on the 30th. of *November*, 1557. received the Order of the *Crosse* at *Westminster*, and



and took possession of his place; which having scarce warmed, he was taken from it by the stroke of death, and left it by the Queen to be disposed of to Sir Richard Shelle, the last great Master of that Order in the Realm of England.

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But this expiring with the rest, within two years after, there remained nothing of all Queen Mary's foundations, but her new Hospital in the Savoy. An Hospital had formerly been founded in that House by her Grandfather King Henry the seventh, for the relief of such pilgrims, as either went on their Devotions to the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury, or any other eminent Shrine or Saint in those parts of the Kingdom. On a suggestion made to King Edward the sixth, that it served onely for a recepracle of vagrant persons, it was surrendered to him in the last year of his Reign by the Master and Brethren of the same; out of the Lands whereof he assigned the yearly Rente of seven hundred Marks for the maintenance of his new working house of *Bridewel*, which he had given for ever to the Lord Mayor and City of London, as hath been signified before in the life of that King, (together with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture, which were found in this Hospital.) And though this Grant bare date on the 26 of June, in the last year of his Reign, Anno 1553. yet the Lord Mayor and Aldermen entred not on the possession of it till the month of February now last past, Anno 1555. But having took possession of it, and so much of the Lands of this Hospital being settled on it, the Hospital in the Savoy could not be restored to its first condition, but by a new Endowment, from such other Lands belonging to Religious Houses which were remaining in the Crown. But the Queen was so resolved upon it, that she might add some works of Charity unto those of Piety, or else in honour of her Grandfather, whose foundation she restored at Greenwich also, the Hospital was again refounded on the third of November, and a convenient yearly Rente allotted to the Master and Brethren for the entertainment of the Poor, according to the tenour and effect of the first Institution. Which Princelike Act so wrought upon the Maids of Honor, and other Ladies of the Court, that for the better attaining of the Queens good grace, they furnished the same at their own costs with new beds, bedding, and other necessary furniture, in a very ample manner. In which condition it continueth to this very day, the Mastership of the Hospital being looked on as a good preferment for any well deserving man about the Court; but for the most part given to some of their Majesties Chaplains for the encouragement of learning, and the reward of their service.

How far the Queens example, seconded by the Ladies about the Court, countenanced by the King, and earnestly insisted on by the Pope then being, might have prevailed on the Nobility and Gentry for doing the like, either in restoring their Church Lands, or assigning some part of them to the like Foundations, it is hard to say; most probable it is, that if the Queen had lived some few years longer, either for love to her, or for fear of gaining the Kings displeasure, (who was now grown too great to be disputed with, if the point were questioned) or otherwise out of an unwillingness to incur the Popes curse, and the Churches censures, there might have been very much done that way, though not all at once. For so it was, that Philip having past over to Calais in the month of September, Anno 1555. And the next day departing to the Emperors Court, which was then at Brussels, where he found his father in a resolution of resigning to him all his Dominions and Estates, except the Empire, (or the bare title rather of it) which was to be surrendered to his brother Ferdinand; not that he had not a design to settle the Imperial Dignity on his Successors in the Realm of Spain, for the better attaining of the Universal Monarchy, which he was said to have aspired to, over all the West; but that he had been crossed in it by Maximilian the eldest son of his brother Ferdinand, who succeeded in it by his father in it, and left the same hereditary in a manner to the Princes of the House of Austria of the German Race. For Charles grown weary

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weary of the world, broken with wars, and desirous to apply himself to divine meditations, resolved to discharge himself of all civil employments, and spend the remainder of his life in the Monastery of St. *Justus*, situate among the Mountains of *Extremadura*, a Province of the Realm of *Castile*. In pursuance whereof, having called before him the principal of the Nobility and great men of his several Kingdoms and Estates, he made a Resignation of all his hereditary Dominions to King *Philip* his son, on the 25th. of *October*, Anno 1555. having then scarce attained to the 55 year of his life, to the great admiration of all the world. After which act, he found himself so abandoned by all his followers, that sitting up late at night in conference with *Seldius* his brothers Embassador, he had not a servant within call to light the Gentleman down stairs. Which being observed by the Emperor, he took the candle into his hands, and would needs in his own person perform that office; and having brought him to the top of the stairs, he said unto him, Remember *Seldius*, that thou hast known the Emperour *Charles*, whom thou hast seen in the head of so many Armies, reduced to such a low estate, as to perform the office of an ordinary servant to his Brothers Minister. Such was the greatness to which *Philip* had attained at the present time, when the Queen was most intent on these new foundations.

As for the Pope, he had published a Bull in print at the same time also, in which he threatened Excommunication to all manner of persons without exception, as kept any Church Lands unto themselves; as also to all Princes, Noblemen, and Magistrates, as did not forthwith put the same in execution: Which though it did not much edifie at the present in the Realm of *England*, yet it found more obedience and conformity in that of *Ireland*, in which a Parliament being called toward the end of this year, (that is to say, in the month of *June*, Anno 1557.) there past a Statute for repealing all Acts, Articles, and Provisions made against the See Apostolick, since the 20th. year of King *Henry* the 8th. and for abolishing of several Ecclesiastical possessions conveyed to the Laity, as also for the extinguishment of First-fruits and Twentieth parts, (no more than the yearly payment of the twentieth part having been laid by Act of Parliament on the Irish Clergy) in the first and last clause whereof, as they followed the example of the Realm of *England*, so possibly they might have given a dangerous example to it in the other point, if by the Queens death following shortly after, as well K. *Philip* as the Pope had not lost all their power & influence on the English Nation; by means whereof, there was no farther progresse in the restitution of the Abbey-Lands, no more re-edifying of the old Religious Houses, and no intention for the founding of any new. Such as most cordially were affected to the interest of the Pope of *Rome*, and otherwise were very perfect at their *Ave Maria*, might love their *Pater noster* well, but their *Penny* better.

Thus have we seen how zealously the Queen proceeded in her way, towards the re-establishing of the Papal greatness. Let us next look on the proceedings of the Cardinal-Legar, not as a *Legat à latere* from the Pope of *Rome*, but as *Legatus natus*, a Metropolitan, or Archbishop of the Church of *England*. As Cardinal-Legar he had been never forward in the shedding of blood, declaring many ways his avernesse from that severity, which he saw divers of the English Bishops, but especially the Butcher of *London*, were so bent upon. And when he came to act as Metropolitan, he was very sparing in that kind, as far as his own person was concerned therein; though not to be excused from suffering the under Officers of his Diocess to be too prodigal of the blood of their Christian brethren. He had been formerly suspected for a favourer of the *Lutheran* Doctrins, when he lived at *Rome*, and acted for the Pope as one of his Legats in the Council of *Trent*. *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, and the rest of the sons of Thunder, who called for nothing less than fire, (though not from heaven) were willing to give out, that he brought the same affections into *England* also; and therefore somewhat must be done to keep up his authority and reputation

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ration, both at home and abroad. To which end, he inserteth some particulars amongst the printed Articles of his Visitation, to witnesse for him to the world, that he had as great a care for suppressing the growth of Heresie, as any Prelate in the Kingdom, who would be thought more zealous because more tyrannical; of which sort are the 14, 15, and 17th. Articles which concerned the Clergy, that is to say, *Whether any of them do teach or preach erroneous doctrine, contrary to the Catholick faith, and the Unity of the Church; and whether any of them do say the divine Service, or do minister the Sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the Church?* Of which sort also were the first of those touching the Laity, viz. *Whether any manner of persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they be, do hold, maintain, and affirm any Heresies, Errors, and erroneous Opinions, contrary to the Laws Ecclesiastical, and the unity of the Catholick Church?* Which general Article was after branched into such particulars, as concerned the Carnal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the reverent esteem thereof, the despising of any of the Sacramentals, and the decrying of Auricular Confession by word or practice. And somewhat also of this sort was the 17th. Article, by which it was enquired, *Whether any of the Priests or Clergy, that having been married under the presence of lawful Matrimony, and since reconciled, do privily resort to their pretended wives, or that the said women do privily resort to them.* Nothing material or considerable in all the rest, but what hath been in use and practice by all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Judges in the Church of England, since the first and best times of Queen Elizabeth; all of them seeming to have took their pattern from this reverend Prelate's, and to have preceded themselves by the Articles of his Visitation. In two points onely he appeared to be somewhat singular, and therefore found no followers in the times succeeding; the first whereof was, The Registering of the names of the Godfathers and Godmothers, as well as of the child Baptized; which why it should be laid aside I can see no reason, the Rubrick of the Church allowing none to perform that office, before they have received the holy Communion. The second was, an Enquiry, whether the Parsons, Vicars, and Curats were diligent in teaching the Midwives how to Christen children in time of necessity, according to the Canons of the Church; which seemed sufficiently necessary to be put in practice, as long as Baptism was permitted to Midwives or any other persons not in holy Orders.

But though he seemed more favourable than any of the rest of the Bishops, towards those which were living, he was content to exercise the utmost of his power upon those that were dead; nor was he without hope, that by the punishment and disgrace of those which were not sensible of either, he might be thought to manifest his greatest zeal towards the maintenance of the Doctrins of the Church of Rome, as if he had inflicted the like censures on them when they were alive. This prompts him to a Visitation of the University of Cambridge, partly to rectifie the Statutes of it, which in many points were thought to stand in need of a Reformation; but principally to exercise somewhat more than ordinary rigour on the dead bodies of *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Fagius*; Of these, the first, having been the publick Reader in Divinity in the time of King Edward, was solemnly interred in the Church of St. *Maries*; the other having been Hebrew-Reader at the same time also, was buried in the Church of St. *Michael*. In order to this Visitation, he Delegates one *Ormanese* an Italian, honored with the title of the Popes *Datary*, Doctor *Cuthbert Scot*, then newly consecrated Bishop of *Chester*, Doctor *Wauson* Mr. of St. *John's* College, and Lord Elect of *Lincoln*, and Doctor *Christopherson* Master of *Trinity* Colledge, and Dean of *Norwich*, Lord Elect of *Chichester*, and Doctor *Henry Cole* Provost of *Eaton* College, and Dean of St. *Pauls*. With these were joyned as Commissioners Doctor *Andrew Pern*, Master of *Peterhouse*, and Vice-chancellor, some Doctors of Divinity, Sir *James Dier* then the Recorder of the Town, and certain others, in the name of the King and Queen. It must be

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some great business doubtlesse, that must require so many hands, and exercise the wits of so many persons, Bishops, Deans, Doctors in Divinity, Canonists, common Lawyers, Knights, and Gentlemen. But what the business was, and how little it required such preparations, we are next to see.

The Cardinals Commissioners came to Cambridge on the 9th. of January, where they found the rest ready to receive them, and the next day they interdicted the two Churches above mentioned, for daring to entertain the dead bodies of such desperate Hereticks. I pretermitt the eloquent speech made by *Stoaks* the University-Orator, the Answer thereunto by *Sea*, then Bishop of *Cheller*, the Latine Sermon preached by *Peacock* against Sects and Hereticks, together with the Solemn Mass, with which this weighty business was to take beginning. Which preparations being past over, a Petition is presented to the Cardinals Delegates in the name of the Vice-chancellor, and Heads of the University, for taking up the bodies of the said *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Fagius*, to the end that some legal proceedings might be had against them, to the terrour of others, in regard of those many dangerous and heretical Doctrines by them formerly taught. The Petition being granted, and the dead bodies condemned to be taken out of their graves, a publick Citation is set up at *St. Mary's Church*, the Market-place, and the common Schools, requiring the said *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Fagius*, or any other in their names, or in their behalf, to appear before the Lords Commissioners on Monday the 18th. of that Month, to answer to such Articles as then and there should be objected against them. But the dead bones not being able to come unless they were carried, and no body daring to appear as their Proctor or Advocate, they might have been taken *pro confesso*, but that the Court was willing to proceed by Witnesses, and to that end they took the Depositions of several persons, touching the Doctrine taught by the said two Hereticks; and then upon mature deliberation they condemned them of Heresie, ordered them to be taken out of their graves, degraded from all holy Orders, and delivered to the secular Magistrate. Of all this, an account is given to the Cardinal-Legat, who is desired to take some course that the ordinary Writ (*de comburendo Hereticos*) for the burning of Hereticks, might be taken out, and sent unto the Mayor of Cambridge, without which, nothing could be done, in order to the execution of the rest of the Sentence. The Writ accordingly comes down, and Saturday the sixth day of February is appointed for the burning of the two dead bodies; which being taken out of their graves, and laid in their coffins on mens shoulders, are carried to the market-place with a guard of men, well armed and weaponed, for fear of making an escape; chained unto several posts, as if still alive; the wood and fire put to them, and their bodies burned, together with as many of their Books as could be gotten, which were cast into the same flames also.

And because one University should not mock the other, the like cruelty was also exercised upon the dead body of *Peter Martyr's* wife at Oxford, a godly, grave, and sober matron while she lived, and to the poor people there exceeding charitable. It was supposed, that *Oxon* stood as much in need of a Visitation as Cambridge did. A Commission is therefore granted by the Cardinal-Legat to Doctor *James Brooks* Bishop of Gloucester, *Ormanette* the Popes Datary, *Cole* and *Wright* Doctors of the Civil Law, &c. to rectifie such things as they found amiss in that University, or in any College of the same. It was given them also in charge amongst other things, that they should take the body of this good woman out of her grave, into which she had been laid Anno 1552, and to consume the same with fire, not doubting but she was of the same Religion which her husband had professed before. But when the Commissioners came to execute that part of their business, they could find no witness to depose any thing for certain touching her Religion, such as were brought before them agreeing generally in this answer, That they did not understand her Language, and therefore could not tell of what Religion she was. It was therefore

therefore signified to the Cardinal, that for want of legal evidence against her, they could not lawfully proceed in burning her body, as they had done the bodies of *Bucer* and *Pagius*, against whom there was evidence enough to be found in their writings, besides that which was given in from the mouths of Witnesses. The Cardinal, thereupon gives order to Doctor *Marshall*, Dean of *Christ Church*, to take up her body (which had been buried near to that of *St. Frideswide*) and to lay it out of Christian burial; who very readily obeyed, took up the bones of that vertuous woman, and most prophaneely buried them in a common dunghil. But long they lay not in that place, for Queen *Elizabeth* coming to the Crown within two years after, gave order, that this body should be decently interred, as became the quality of her person, and the reverence due unto her husband; as also that *Bucer* & *Pagius* should in the other University be publickly restor'd to their former honors. In obedience unto whose commands, the body of the one is taken out of the dunghil, and laid into the grave of *St. Frideswide*, their bones so intermingled with one another, that there could be no fear of offering the like inhumanity to them for the time to come. And that the like honour might be done to *Bucer* and *Pagius*, a solemn commemoration of them was held at *Cambridge*, the Sermon preached by Mr *James Pilkington*, who not long after was preferred to the See of *Durham*; the Panegyrick made by *Ackworth* Orator of that University, who spared no part of a good Orator, in setting forth their due praises, and deserved commendations.

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But we must now look back again on the Reign of Queen *Mary*, in which we find little more to do than the magnificent reception of *Osep Napea*, Ambassador from the great Duke of *Muscovy*, upon this occasion: The English Merchants at the solicitation of *Sebastian Cabot*, had furnished out some ships for the discovery of a North-East passage towards the rich Countries of *Cathai* and *China*; in which they made so good a progress, that they attained as far as the Port of *St. Nicholas*, one of the principal Port-towns of the Empire of *Russia*, and laid the first foundation of a wealthy Trade with that mighty Empire. For their encouragement therein, the Privileges of the *Easterlings*, commonly called the Merchants of the *Stilyard*, (who before had managed all the Trade of the North East parts) were seized on by King *Edward* the 6th. and the way thereby laid open to the Merchant-Adventurers, to increase their shipping with their wealth. For the continuance of which Trade, betwixt the Nations, the Emperor *John Basilwitz* sends his Ambassador above named, embarked in one of the English ships, under the conduct and government of *Richard Chancellor*, the most expert Pilot of that age. But so it hapned, that the rest of the ships being scattered by a strong tempest on the coast of *Norway*, the ship which carried the Ambassador was wreckt upon the coast of *Scotland*, the lading for the most part lost, amounting to twenty thousand pounds and upwards, besides many rich presents sent from the *Russian Emperor* to the King and Queen. The Ambassador with much ado was preserv'd from drowning, but the Pilot lost, who by labouring to preserve the life of the other, neglected the best opportunity to save his own. The news whereof being brought to the Merchants of *London*, (who by this time were grown into a Company of 140.) they procured Letters from the King to the Regent of *Scotland*, for the courteous entertainment of the said Ambassador, and the restoring of such goods as had escaped the wreck: and having furnished him with money and all other necessities, caused him to be conducted towards the Court.

Taking his leave of *Scotland* on the 14th. of February, he is brought by easie journeys within twelve miles of *London*, honorably entertained in all places as he past along, and there received by four-score of the *Russian Merchants* in their chains of gold. Furnished with Gold, Velvet, Silk, and all other things, he is by the whole Company of the *Russian Merchants* magnificently brought into *London* on the last of that month; met on the way by the Lord Viscount *Montacute*, attended with a gallant train of three hundred Horse, at the Queens command, and received at *Smithfield-bars* by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen

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in their scarlet Robes. Conducted to his lodgings in *Fine Church* street, he was there presented in the Queens name, with a piece of cloath of Tissue, two pieces of cloath of gold, one whereof was raised with Crimson Velvet, with many other pieces of the like rich making, which very thankfully he received. Abiding at his lodging till the Kings coming back from *Flanders*, which was not till the 21 of *March*, he was brought upon our Lady day by water to the Court at *Westminster*; received at his landing by six Lords, he was by them brought into a chamber, where he found the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy Seal, Admiral, Bishop of *Ely*, and other Counsellors. Who having exchanged salutations with him, attended him to the King and Queen, sitting under a rich Canopy or cloath of State in the great Hall there. Having presented his Letters of Credence, express himself unto their Majesties in a short Oration, which was interpreted to them both in *English* and *Spanish*, and presented them with two timber of Sables, which with much diligence had been recovered out of the wreck, he was by them remitted to his lodging with the like solemnity. Attended shortly after by the Bishop of *Ely*, and Mr Secretary *Perrin*; who after much Communication, and several Treaties, settled at last a friendly intercourse and commerce betwixt the Nations; the Articles whereof engrossed in parchment, were afterwards presented to him, ratified and confirmed by the Great Seal of *England*. On the 23d. of *April* he was brought again into the Court, where having seen the Pomps and Orders of *St Georges* Feast, the Service of the Royal Chapel, and the magnificent Procession of the Knights of the Garter, he takes his leave of the King and Queen, is re-conveyed unto his lodging, and on the 3d. of *May* embarks for *Russia*, accompanied with four good ships well fraught with Merchandise most proper for the trade of that Country to which they were bound. The costly presents sent by him from the King and Queen to the *Russian* Emperor, and those bestowed upon himself, I leave to be reported by him at his coming home, and the relation of *John Stow* in his *Annals of England*, fol. 630. Nor had I dwelt so long upon these particulars, but to set forth the ancient splendor and magnificence of the State of *England*, from which we have so miserably departed in these latter times.

Worse entertainment found an agent from the *French* King at his coming hither, because he came on a worse errand. *Seafford* an *English* Gentleman of a Noble Family, having engaged himself in some of the former enterprises against this Queen, and finding no good fortune in them, retired with divers others to the Court of *France*; from whence they endeavoured many times, to create some dangers to this Realm, by scattering and dispersing divers scandalous Pamphlets, and seditious papers, tending to the apparent defamation of the King and Queen. And having got some credit by these practices amongst the Ministers of that King, he undertakes to seize upon some Fortress or Port Town of *England*, and put the same into the hands of the *French*. In prosecution of which plot, accompanied with some *English* Rebels, and divers *French* Adventurers intermingled with them, he seizes on the strong Castle of *Scurborough*, in the County of *York*. From thence he published a most traiterous and seditious Manifest, in which he trayterously affirmed the Queen, neither to be the Rightful Queen of this Realm, nor to be worthy of the Title, affirming that the King had brought into this Realm the number of twelve thousand *Spaniards*, who had possess'd themselves of twelve of the best Holds in all the Kingdom; upbraiding the Queen with her misgovernment, and taking to himself the Title of Protector of the Realm of *England*. But the Queen being secretly advertised of the whole design, by the diligence of Dr *Nicholas Weston*, Dean of *Canterbury*, who was then Ambassador in that Court, Order was taken with the Earl of *Westmorland*, and other Noble men of those parts, to watch the Coasts, and have a care unto the safety of those Northern Provinces. By whom he was so closely watch'd, and so well attended, that having put himself into that Castle on the 24th. he was pulled out of it again on the last of *April*; from

from thence brought prisoner unto London, condemned of Treason, executed on the Tower Hill, May 28. and on the morrow after three of his accomplices were hanged at Tyburn, cut down and quartered.

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But as it was an ill wind which blowes no body good, so this French Treason, so destructive to the chief conspirators, redounded to the great benefit and advantage of Philip. He had for three years borne the Title of King of England, without reaping any profit and commodity by it. But being now engaged in war with King Henry the 3d. though in pursuit rather of his fathers quarrels, than any new ones of his own, he takes this opportunity to move the Queen to declare her self against the French, &c. to assist him in his war against that King, for the good of her Kingdoms. It was not possible for the Queen to separate her interest from that of her husband, without hazarding some great unkindness, if not a manifest breach between them. She therefore yields to his desire, and by her Proclamation of the 7th. of June, chargeth that King in having an hand not only in the secret practices of the Duke of Northumberland, but also in the open rebellion of Wat, and his confederates. She also laid unto his charge, that Dudley Ashton, and some other male contents of England, were entertained in the house of his Ambassadors, where they contrived many treasons and conspiracies against her and her Kingdom; that flying into France, they were not only entertained in the Court of that King, but relieved with pensions. Finally, that he had aided and encouraged Stafford with shipping, men, money, and munition, to invade her Realm, thereby if it were possible, to dispossess her of her Crown. She therefore gives notice to her subjects, that they should forbear all traffick and commerce with the Realm of France: from which she had received so many injuries, as could admit no reparation but by open war. And that she might not seem to threaten what she never intended, she causeth an army to be raised consisting of one thousand horse, four thousand foot, and two thousand pionsers, which she puts under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, and so dispatcheth them for Flanders, to which they came about the middle of July. King Philip had gone before on the 6th. of that month, and all things here were followed with such care and diligence, that the army laid not long behind; but what they did, falls not within the compass of this present year.

All which remains to be remembered in this present year, relates unto such changes and alterations, as were made amongst the Governors of the Church, and the Peers of the Realm. It hath been signified before, that White of Lincoln had prevailed by his friends in Court, to be translated unto Winchester, as the place of his Nativity and Education. To whom succeeded Dr Thomas Warfen, Master of St John's College in Cambridge, and Dean of Durham, elected to the See of Lincoln, before Christmas last, and acting by that name, and in that capacity, against the dead body of Martin Bucer. To Day of Chichester, who deceased on the 2d. of Aug. in the beginning of his year, succeeded Dr John Christopheron, a right learned man, Mr of Trinity College in Cambridge, and Dean of Norwich, elected about the same time when the other was, and acting as he did against Bucer and Fagius, as also did Dr Cuthbert Scot, who at that time was actually invested in the See of Chester, upon the death of Dr Coats, the preceding Bishop. And finally, in the place of Aldrick Bishop of Carlisle, who died on the 5th. of March, 1555. Dr Owen Oglethorp, President of Magdalen College in Oxon, and Dean of Windsor, receives Consecration to that See, in that first part of this year; but the particular day and time thereof I have no where found. Within the compass of this year (that is to say the 4th. year of the Reign of this Queen) died two other Bishops, Salcot or Capon Bishop of Salisbury, and Chambers the first Bishop of Peterborough; to the first of which there was no successor actually consecrated or confirmed, for the reasons to be shewed anon in the Reign of this Queen. But to the other, succeeded Dr David Pool, Dr of both laws, Dean of the Arches, Chancellor to the Bishop of Lichfield, and Arch-Deacon of Derby, elected before the end of this year, but not consecrated

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crated till the 15th of *August*, in the beginning of the next.

Some alterations hapned also amongst the Peers of the Realm, in the creation of one, and the destruction of another. A Rebellion had been raised in the North upon the first suppression of Religious Houses, Anno 1536. in which Sir *Thomas Percy* second son to *Henry* the fifth Earl of *Northumberland* of that name and family, was thought to be a principal stickler, and for the same was publickly arraigned, condemned, and executed. By *Eleanor* his wife, one of the daughters and heirs of Sir *Guisard Harbottle*, he was the father of *Thomas* and *Henry*, who hitherto had suffered under his Attaindure: But now it pleased Queen *Mary* to reflect on their Fathers sufferings, and the cause thereof, which moved her not onely to restore them to their blood and honors, but also to so much of the Lands of the *Percies* as were remaining in the Crown. In pursuance whereof, she advanced *Thomas* the elder brother, on the last of *April*, to the Style, Title, and Degree of Earl of *Northumberland*, the remainder to his brother *Henry*, in case the said *Thomas* should depart this life without Issue male. By vertue of which Enrail, the said *Henry* afterwards succeeded him in his Lands and Honors, notwithstanding that he was attaind, condemned, and executed for high Treason in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, Anno 1572.

Not many weeks before the restitution of which noble Family, that of the Lord *Sturton* was in no small danger of a final destruction, a Family first advanced to the state of a Baron in the person of Sir *John Sturton*, created Lord *Sturton* in the 26th. of King *Henry* the 6th. and now upon the point of expiring in the person of *Charles* Lord *Sturton*, condemned and executed with four of his servants on the 6th. of *March*, for the murder of one *Argal* and his son, with whom he had been long at variance. It was his first hope that the murder might not be discovered, and for that cause had buried the dead bodies fifteen foot under ground; his second, that by reason of his zeal to the Popish Religion it might be no hard matter to procure a pardon. But the Murder was too foul to be capable of any such favour, so that he was not onely adjudged to die, but condemned to be hanged. It is reported of *Marcus Antonius*, that having vanquished *Artaxasdes* King of *Armenia*, he led him bound in chains to *Rome*; but for his greater honor, and to distinguish him from the rest of the prisoners, in chains of gold: And such an honour was vouchsafed to this noble Murderer, in not being hanged as his servants and accomplices were, in a halter of hemp but in one of silk. And with this fact the Family might have expired, if the Queen, having satisfied Justice by his execution, had not consulted with her mercy for the restoring of his next Heir both in blood and honor.

*Artaxasdes*  
*Armenia* Regem, fraude deceptum, Catenis, sed ne quid honoris deesset, aureis vincit *Antonius*.  
Vell. Patere.

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**W**E must begin this year with the success of those forces which were sent under the command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, to the aid of *Philip*; who having made up an Army of 35 thousand Foot, and 12 thousand Horse, besides the Forces out of *England*, fate down before *St. Quintin* the chief Town of *Piccardy*, called by the *Romans*, *Augusta Peromanduorum*, and took this new name from *St. Quintin* the supposed tutelary Saint and Patron of it; a Town of principal importance to his future aims, as being one of the Keys of *France* on that side of the Kingdom, and opening a fair way even to *Paris* itself. For the raising of which Siege, the *French* King sends a puissant Army under the command of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, then Lord High Constable of *France*, accompanied with the Flower of the *French* Nobility. On the 10th. day of *August* the Battels joyn, in which the *French* were vanquished, and their Army routed; the Constable himself, the Prince of *Mantua*, the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Longueville*, with six others of the prime Nobility, and many others

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of less note, being taken prisoners: The Duke of *Anguin*, the Viscount *Turin*, four persons of honorable rank, most of the Foot Captains, and of the common Soldiers to the number of 2500 slain upon the place. The news whereof struck such a terror in King *Henry* the 2d. that he was upon the point of forsaking *Paris*, and retiring into *Languedock*, or some other remote part of his Dominions; In the suddenness of which surprise, he dispatched his Carriers for recalling the Duke of *Guise* out of *Italy*, whom he had sent thither at the Popes instigation with a right puissant Army for the Conquest of *Naples*. But *Philip* knowing better how to enjoy than to use his victory, continued his Siege before *St. Quentin*, which he stormed on the 18th. of that month, the Lord *Henry Dudley* one of the younger sons of the Duke of *Northumberland* (who lost his life in the Assault) together with Sir *Edward Windsor*, being the first that scaled the walls, and advanced their victorious Colours on the top thereof. After which gallant piece of service, the English finding some neglect at the hands of *Philip*, humbly desire to be dismiss into their Country, which for fear of some further inconvenience was indulged unto them. By which dismissal of the English (as *Thomas* and others have observed) King *Philip* was not able with all his Spaniards to perform any action of importance in the rest of the War.

But the English shall pay dearly for this Victory, which the Spaniard bought with no greater loss than the lives of 50 of his men. The English at that time were possessed of the Town of *Calais*, with many other pieces and Ports about, as *Guisness*, *Faenim*, *Ardes*, &c. together with the whole Territory called the County *Oye*, the Town by *Cesar* called *Portus Lavinæ*, situate on the mouth or entrance of the English Chanel, opposite to *Dover*, one of the five principal Havens in those parts of *England*, from which distant not above twenty five miles, a Town much aimed at for that reason by King *Edward* the 3d. who after a Siege of somewhat more than eleven months, became Master of it, Anno 1347. by whom first made a Colonie of the English Nation, and after one of the Staple Towns for the sale of Wool. Kept with great care by his Successors, who as long as they had it in their possession, were said to carry the Keys of *France* at their girdle; esteemed by *Philip de Comines* for the goodliest Captainship in the world, and therefore trusted unto none but persons of most eminent rank both for courage and honour. A Town which for more than 200 years had been such an eye-sore to the *French*, and such a thorn in their sides, that *Monsieur de Cordes*, a Nobleman who lived in the Reign of King *Lewis* the 11th. was wont to say, that he could be content to lie seven years in hell, upon condition that this Town were regained from the English. But the *French* shall have it now at an easier rate; The Queen had broke the Peace with *France*, and sent a considerable Body of Forces to the aid of *Philip*, but took no care to fortifie and make good this place, as if the same Garrison which had kept it in a time of peace, had been sufficient to maintain it also in a time of war.

For so it hapned, that *Francis* of *Lorraine* Duke of *Guise*, one of the best Soldiers of that age, being called back with all his forces from the war of *Italy*, and not well pleased with the loss of that opportunity which seemed to have been offered to him for the conquest of *Naples*, resolved of doing somewhat answerable unto expectation, as well for his own honor as the good of his Country. He had long fixed his eyes on *Calais*, and was informed by *Senarpons* Governor of *Bollogne*, and by consequence a near neighbour to it, that the Town was neither so well fortified, nor so strongly garrisoned, but that it might be taken without any great difficulty. For confirmation whereof, *Monsieur d'Strozzi* one of the Marshals of *France*, under the favour of a disguise, takes a view of the place, and heartneth on the Duke with the feasibility of the undertaking. *Philip*, who either had intelligence of the *French* designs, or otherwise rationally supposing what was like to follow in the course of War, had often advised the Queen to have a care of that Piece, and freely offered his assistance



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assistance for defence thereof. But the English over-wisely jealous lest *Philip* had a practice on *Jezebel*, lying commodiously for his adjoining *Neatherlands*, neglected both his advice and proffer. Nay, so extremely careless were the Council of *England* in looking to the preservation and defence of this place, that when the Duke sat down before it, there was not above 500 Soldiers, and but two hundred fighting men amongst the Townsmen, although the whole number of Inhabitants amounted to 4200 persons. On New-years day the Duke of *Guise* sat down before it, and on Twelfth-day had it surrendered up unto him by the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, who had the chief command and government of it. The noise of the thundring Canon heard as far as *Amwerp*, could not but rouse the drowsie English to bethink themselves of some relief to be sent to *Calais*; and they accordingly provided both ships and men to perform that service. But the winds were all the while so strong and so cross against them, that before the English ships could get out of their Havens, the French were Masters of the Town. Some greater difficulty found the Duke in the taking of the Castle of *Guisnesse*, where the Lord *Gray*, a valiant and expert Soldier, had the chief command. But at length the Accessories followed the same fortune with the Principal, both *Guisnesse* and *Hainne*, and all the other Pieces in the County of *Oye*, being reduced under the power of the French within few days after.

There now remained nothing to the Crown of *England* of all its ancient Rights in *France*; but the Islands of *Gernsey*, *Jersey*, *Sark*, and *Alderney*, all lying on the coast of *Normandy*, of which Duke dome heretofore accounted members. Held by the English ever since the time of the *Norman* Conquest, they have been many times attempted by the French, but without success; never so much in danger of being lost as they were at this present. Some of the French had well observed, that the Island of *Sark* (an Island of six miles in compass) enjoyed the benefit of a safe and commodious Haven, but without any to defend it but a few poor Hermits, whom the privacy and solitariness of the place had invited thither. The Island round begirt with Rocks, lying aloft above the Sea, and having onely one streight passage or ascent unto it, scarce capable of two abreast. Of this Island the French easily possessed themselves, dislodged the Hermits, fortified the upper part of the Ascent with some pieces of Ordnance, and settled a small Garrison in it to defend the Haven. But long they had not nested there, when by a Gentleman of the *Neatherlands*, one of the subjects of King *Philip*, it was thus regained: The Flemish Gentleman with a small Bark came to Anchor in the Road, and pretending the death of his Merchant, besought the French that they might bury him in the Chapel of that Island, offering a present to them of such Commodities as they had aboard. To this request the French were easily entreated, upon condition, that they should not come to shore with any weapon, no not so much as a Pen-knife. This leave obtained, the Flemish row'd unto the Shoar with a Coffin in their skiff for that use purposely provided, and manned with Swords & Arcubusses. Upon their landing, and a search so strict and narrow, that it was impossible to hide a Pen-knife, they were permitted to draw their Coffin up the Rocks, some of the French rowing back unto the ship to fetch the Present, where they were soon made fast enough and laid in hold. The Flemings in the mean time which were on the land had carried their Coffin into the Chapel, and having taken thence their weapons gave an Alarm unto the French, who taken thus upon the suddain, and seeing no hopes of succour from their fellows, yielded themselves, and abandoned the possession of that place. A Stratagem to be equalled, if not preferred, unto any of the Antients, either *Greeks* or *Romans*; did not that fatal folly, reprehended once by *Tacitus*, still reign amongst us, that we extol the former days, and condemn the present.

The losse of this Island gave a new Alarm to the Council of *England*, who thereupon resolved to set out a right puissant Navy, as well for the securing of the rest of the Islands, as to make some impression on the Main of *France*.

It

Quod vetera  
extollimus, ve-  
nientium iacu-  
riof.

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It was not till the month of *April* that they entered into consultation about this business, and so exceeding tedious were they in their preparations, that the month of *July* was well spent before they were ready to weigh Anchor. During which time the *French* had notice of their purpose, and understanding that they had an aim on *Brest* in *Britany*, they took more care in fortifying it against the English, than the English did for *Calais* against the French. It was about the middle of *July* that the Lord Admiral *Cromwell* set sail for *France*, with a Fleet of one hundred and forty ships, whereof thirty *French*. Finding no hopes of doing any good on *Brest*, bends his course for *Cognac*, an open Seaport of that Province; at this place he lands his men, takes and sacks the Town, burns it together with the Abbey, and having wasted all the Country round about, returned with safety to his ships. But the *Flemish* somewhat more greedy on the spoil, and negligent in observing Martial Discipline, are valiantly encountered by a Nobleman of that Country, and sent back fewer by five hundred than they came on shore. This was the sum of what the English did this year, in order to the recovery of the honour which they lost at *Calais*; and possibly they might think they had done enough in the spoil of *Britany*, to satisfy for the loss of a Town in *Picardy*; whereas in truth, the waste which they had made in *Britany* might be compared to the cutting off a mans hair, which will grow again; the loss of *Calais* to the dismembering of an arm or leg, never to be again united to the rest of the body.

Either by reason of these wars, or that men were not then so prompt to Success in Law, the Lawyers found but little work in *Westminster-hall*, inasmuch that at the Kings Bench Bar there attended but one man of Law called *Foster*, and but one Serjeant only called *Bulleiffe* of the Common-Pleas, both having little more to do than to look about them, and the Judges not much more to do than the Lawyers had; but certainly, that great leisure which the Lawyers found for doing nothing, proceeded rather from the noise of the wars, in which the voice of the Law cannot easily be heard, than from the quietness & disposition of the times, in which the number both of Sutes and Pleaders had been much encreased, as may be gathered from the words of *Heinwood* the old Epigrammatist, and one much made of by the Queen, who being told of the great number of Lawyers, and that the number of them would impoverish the whole Profession, made answer, *No, for that always the more Spaniels there were in the field, the more was the game.* Not so much elbow-room in the Hall, though possibly not much more business for them in the Term next following, by reason of the Parliament which began on the 20th. of *January*, and held on till the seventh of *March*, in which I find no Act which concerned Religion, nor any thing which had relation to the Clergy; more than the confirmation of their Grant of Subsidies. It was a military time, and the Acts had something in them of that temper also, that is to say, an Act, proportioning what number of Horse, Arms, and Weapons every man should be charged withall in his several station, cap. 2. an Act for the due taking and observing of Masters, cap. 3. that Accessories in Murder, and such as were found guilty of divers Felonies, should not have their Clergy, cap. 4. for the quiet behaviour of such *French-men* as had purchased the privilege of being Denizens, cap. 6. and finally, for granting a Subsidy and Fifteen by the Temporality towards the defence of the Realm, and carrying on the War against those of *France*. Nothing else memorable in this Session, but that *Feknam* the new Abbot of *Westminster*, and *Tresham* the new Prior of *St. Johns of Jerusalem*, took place amongst the Lords in the House of Peers.

At the Convocation then holden for the Province of *Canterbury*, *Harpfield* Arch-Deacon of *London*, is chosen and admitted Prolocutor for the House of the Clergy. Which done, the Cardinal-Archbishop offers it to the consideration of the Bishops and Clergy, that some course might be thought upon for the recovery of *Calais*, then lately taken by the *French*. Which whether it were done to spur on the Parliament, or to shew their good affections to the publick

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publick service, is not much material, considering that I find nothing acted in pursuance of it. As little was there done in order to another of his propositions, touching the reviewing and accommodating of the Statutes of the new foundations, though a reference thereof was made to the Bishops of *Lincoln, Chester, and Peterborough*, together with the Deans of *Canterbury, Worcester, and Winchester*. Some desires also were agreed on to be presented to the Prelate Cardinal, in the name of the Clergy, as namely, "1. That request may be made to the Queens Majesty, That no Parson, Vicar or Curate, be pressed by any Captain to go to the wars. 2. That where two Benefices being contiguous, are so small that they are not able to find a Priest, the Bishop of the Diocess may give them in *commendam* to some one man to serve them *alternis vicibus*. 3. That the Parishioners which have Chapels of ease, and yet want Priests to serve the Cure, may be compelled to come to the Parish Churches, until some Curate may be gotten to serve the same. And 4. That every Bishop may be authorised by the Pope to give Orders *extra tempora prescripta*, that is to say, as well at any other times, as on the Sundayes after the four *Ember weeks*. And finally taking into consideration the great necessities of the State, and preparation of the enemies, they granted first unto the Queen, a Subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years, beginning after the last payment of the former grant; and because the Laity at that time had charged themselves with horse and armour for defence of the Realm; the Clergy also did the like according to their several Orders and abilities. For the imposing whereof upon the rest of the Clergy, they had no recourse at all unto the *Mediocrity* of an Act of Parliament, but acted the whole business in their own Synodical way, without contradiction.

But the main business of this year, in reference to the concerns of holy Church related to the Cardinal Legate; against whom the Pope had borne an inveterate grudge, sharpened by the suggestions of Bishop *Gardiner*, as before was signified. Being of himself a rigorous man, and one that was extremely wedded to his own opinion, he had so passionately espoused the quarrel of the *French* against the *Spaniards*, that he intended to divest *Philip* of the Realm of *Naples*, and to confer it on the *French*. For this cause *Francis* Duke of *Guise* with a puissant army is drawn into *Italy* for the subduing of that Kingdom, but suddenly recalled again, upon the routing of the *French* before *St Quintin*, wherein the *English* forces had appeared so serviceable. Which gave the Pope so much displeasure, that he resolved to let his greatest enemies feel the dint of his spirit. But not daring upon second thoughts to fall foul with the Queen, he turned his fury against *Pole*, by whose perswasion it was thought that the Queen had broke her league with *France* to take part with her husband. In which humour he deprives him of the *Legatine* power, confers the same on *Frier Peizow* an *English* man by birth, but of good descent, whom he designs also to the See of *Salisbury*, then vacant by the death of *Capon*. Knew the Queens Agent with the Pope, advertiseth her Majesty of these secret practices, which the Queen concealing from the Cardinal, endeavourth by all fair and gentle means to mitigate the Pope's displeasure, and confirm the Cardinal in the place and power which he then enjoyed. But the Pope not a man to be easily altered, *Pole* in the mean time understanding how things went at *Rome*, laid by the Cross of his Legation, and prudently abstaineth from the exercise of his *Bulls* and *Faculties*. *Peizow* the new Cardinal Legate, puts himself on the way to *England*, when the Queen taking to her self some part of her fathers spirit, commands him at his utmost peril, not to adventure to set foot upon *English* ground; to which he readily inclined, as being more affected unto Cardinal *Pole*, than desirous to shew himself the servant of another mans passion. In the end, partly by the Queens mediation, the intercession of *Orymanus*, the good successee of the *French* in the taking of *Calais*, but principally by the death of *Peizow* in the *April* following, the rupture was made up again, and *Pole* confirmed in the possession of his former powers.



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The fear of running the like hazard for the time to come, made him appear more willing to connive at his under Officers, in shedding the blood of many godly and religious persons, than otherwise he would have been. Whereupon followed the burning of ten men in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, on the 15th of *January*, whereof two suffered at *Ashford*, two at *Ru*, and the other six in his own Metropolitan City; and possibly the better to prepare the Pope towards this Attonement, the Queen was moved to issue her Commission of the month of *February*, directed to the Bishop of *El*, the Lords, *Windfor*, *Norsh*, and seventeen others, by which the said Commissioners, or any three, or more of them, were impowred "to enquire of all and singular Heretical opinions, "Lollardies, Heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, con- "spiracies, and all false tales, rumours, seditious or slanderous words, &c. As "also seize into their hands all manner of Heretical and seditious Books, Let- "ters and Writings, wheresoever they, or any of them should be found, as "well in Printers houses, and shops, as elsewhere, willing them, and every of "them, to search for the same in all places according to their discretions. And "finally to enquire after all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the "blessed Sacrament of the Altar, to hear Mass, or come to their Parish Churches, "and all such as refuse to go on Procession, to take holy bread, or holy water, "or otherwise misuse themselves in any Church or hallowed place, &c. The party so offending to be proceeded against according to the Ecclesiastical Lawes, or otherwise by fine or imprisonment, as to them seemed best.

But the Commissioners being many in number, persons of honour and im- ployment for the most part of them, there was little or nothing done in pursu- ance of it, especially as to the searching after prohibited books; the number whereof increasing every day more and more, a Proclamation was set forth on the 6th. of *June*, to hinder the continual spreading of so great a mischief. Which Proclamation was as followeth, *viz.* "Whereas divers books filled "with Heresie, Seditiion, and Treason, have of late been dayly brought into this "Realm out of forein Countries and places beyond the seas, and some co- "vertly printed within this Realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof; "whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also incouragement given to "disobey lawful Princes and Governours; the King and Queens Majesties "for redress hereof, do by their present Proclamation, declare and publish to "all their subjects, that whosoever shall after the Proclamation hereof, be "found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or finding them, "do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading the same to "any other persons, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall "without further delay be executed for that offence, according to the order "of Martial Law. Which Proclamation though it were very smart and quick, yet there was somewhat of more mercy in it, than in another which came out in the very same month, at the burning of seven persons in *Smithfield*, publish- ed both at *Newgate*, where they were imprisoned, and at the stake where they were to suffer; whereby it was straightly charged and commanded; *That no man should either pray for, or speak to them, or once say God help them.* A cruelty more odious than that of *Domitian*, or any of the greatest Tyrants of the elder times, in hindering all entercourse of speech, upon some jealousie and distrusts of State between man and man.

Which Proclamation notwithstanding, *Bensham* the Minister of one of the *London* Congregations, seeing the fire set to them, turning his eyes unto the people, cried and said, We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but wish well to them, and say God strengthen them; and so boldly he said, *Almighty God for Christs sake strengthen them.* With that all the people with one consent cryed *Amen, Amen*, the noise whereof was so great, and the cryers so many, that the Officers knew not whom to seize or, or with whom they were to begin their accusation. And though peradventure

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it may seem to have somewhat of a miracle in it, that the Protestants should have a Congregation under Bonner's nose; yet so it was, that the godly people of that time were so little terrified with the continual thoughts of that bloody Butcher, that they maintained their constant meetings for religious offices, even in London it self; in one of which Congregations, that namely whereof *Bentham* was at this time Minister, there assembled seldome under 40. many times 100. and sometimes 200. but more or less as it stood most with their conveniency and safety. The Ministers of which successively were Mr *Edward Scambler*, after Bishop of *Peterborough*, Mr *Thomas Fowle*, of whom I find nothing but the name, Mr *John Roush*, a Scot by Nation, convented and condemned by *Bonner*, and suffering for the testimony of a good conscience, December 20. After whom followed Mr *Augustine Bernher*, a moderate and learned man; And finally, Mr *Thomas Bentham* before mentioned, who continued in that charge till the death of Queen *Mary*, and was by Queen *Elizabeth* preferred to the See of *Lichfield*, Anno 1589. By the encouragement and constant preaching of which pious men, the Protestant party did not only stand to their former principle, but were resolved to suffer whatsoever could be laid upon them, rather than forfeit a good conscience, or betray the cause. They had not all the opportunity of such holy meetings, but they met frequently enough in smaller companies, to animate and comfort one another in those great extremities.

Nor sped the Queen much better in her Proclamation of the sixth of June, concerning the suppression of prohibited Books; but notwithstanding all the care of her *Inquisitors*, many good Books of true Christian Consolation and good Protestant Doctrine, did either find some Press in London, or were sent over to their brethren by such learned men as had retired themselves to their several *Sanctuaries*, their places of Retreat, which not improperly may be called their Cities of Refuge, which we have seen already; amongst which, I find none but *Embsden* in the *Lutheran* Countries, the rigid Professors of which Churches abominated nothing more than an English Protestant, because they concurred nor with them in the monstrous Doctrine of *Ubiquity*, and their device of *Consubstantiation*. In so much that a *Peter Martyr* telleth us of a friend of his in the Dukedom of *Saxony*, that he was generally hated by the rest of Country-men, for being hospitable to some few of the English Nation, who had been forced to abandon their native soil. And it is further signified by *Ph. Melancthon* with no small dislike, in an Epistle of this year, that many of those rigid *Lutherans* could find no other name but the Devils Martyrs, for such as suffered death in England in defence of Religion; so that they seemed to act the part of *Diotrephes* in St *John*, not only prating against us with malicious words, and refusing to receive the brethren in the day of their trouble, but forbidding and condemning them that would. But *John Alasco* and his company had been lately there, where they spoke so reproachfully of *Luther*, the *Angustan* Confession, the Rites and Ceremonies of their Churches, as rendered them incapable of any better entertainment than they found amongst them. And by the behaviour of these men coming then from England, the rigid *Lutherans* passed their judgement on the Church it self, and consequently on all those who suffered in defence thereof. For stopping the course of which uncharitable censures, it was thought fit by some of the Divines in *Embsden*, that Archbishop *Cranmers* book about the Sacrament should be translated into Latin, and forthwith published in Print, which was done accordingly. Some of the *Lutherans* had given out on the former ground, that the English had deservedly suffered the greatest hardships both at home and abroad, because they writ and spake less reverently of the blessed Sacrament; and it was hoped that by the publishing of this book, they would find the contrary. The like course taken also at Geneva by the English exiles, by publishing in the Latin tongue, a discourse writ by Bishop *Ridley* on the self same Argument, to the end it might appear unto all the world how much their brethren had been wronged in these odious calumnies.

An.

(a) In summo  
cum esse olio,  
quo Anglos  
proferas hospi-  
tio susceperat,  
&c. P. Mart.  
Epist.  
ubi vociferan-  
tur quidam,  
Martyres An-  
glicos, esse  
Martyres Dia-  
boli, In epist.  
oliod. 8.

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**B**ut in the midst of all these sorrows, I see some hope of comfort coming by the death of Queen Mary, whose Reign polluted with the blood of so many Martyrs, unfortunate by the frequent insurrections, and made inglorious by the loss of the Town of Calais, was only commendable in the brevity or shortness of it. For now to bring it to an end, a dangerous and contagious Feaver began to rage in most parts of the land, insomuch that if the whole Realm had been divided into four parts, three parts of the four would have been found infected with it, so furiously it raged in the month of August, that no former plague or pestilence was thought to have destroyed a greater number, so that divers places were left void of Justices and men of worth to govern the Kingdom. At which time died also so many Priests, that a great number of Parish Churches in divers places were unserved, and no Curats could be gotten for money: Much corn was also lost in the field for want of labourers and workmen to get it in; both which together seemed to threaten not only a spiritual but a temporal famine; though God so ordered it, that by the death of so many of the present Clergy, a door was opened for the preaching of sounder Doctrine, with far less envy and displeasure from all sorts of people than it had been otherwise: Nor were the heats of the disease abated by the coldness of the winter, or the malignity of it mitigated by medicinal courses. It took away the Physicians as well as the Patients, two of the Queens Doctors dying of it not long before her, and spared not more the Prelate than it did the Priest, insomuch that within less than the space of a twelvemonth, almost the one half of the English Bishops had made void their Sees; which with the death of so many of the Priests in several places, did much facilitate the way to that Reformation, which soon after followed.

This terrible disease, together with the said effects which followed on it, and the Queens death which came along with it, though not caused by it, may seem to have been prognosticated or foretold by a dreadful tempest of thunder, hapning on the 11th. of July near the Town of Nottingham, which Tempest as it came through two Towns, beat down all the Houses and Churches, the Bells were cast to the outside of the Church-yard, and some sheets of Lead four hundred foot into the field, writhen like a pair of gloves. The River of Trent running between which two Towns, the water with the mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a mile and cast against the trees, the trees plucked up by the roots, and from thence cast twelve-score paces; also a child was taken forth of a mans hand, and by the fury of it carried an hundred foot, two spears length from the ground, and so fell down, broke its arm, and dyed. Five or six men thereabouts were slain, and neither flesh nor skin perished; at what time also there fell some Hailstones that were fifteen inches about, &c. But neither that terrible disease, nor this terrible tempest, nor any other publick signe of Gods displeasure, abated any thing of the fury of the Persecution, till he was pleased to put an end unto it by the death of the Queen. It was upon the tenth day of November that no fewer than five at once were burned at Canterbury. The Cardinal and the Queen both lying on the bed of sickness, and both dying within seven days after. It had been prayed or prophesied by those five Martyrs when they were at the stake, that they might be the last who should suffer death in that manner, or on that occasion; and by Gods mercy so it proved, they being the last which suffered death under the severity of this persecution.

Which Persecution, and the carriage of the Papists in it, is thus described by Bishop Jewel, "You have (saith he) imprisoned your brethren, you have stripped them naked, you have scourged them with rods, you have burnt their hands and arms with flaming torches, you have famished them, you have drowned



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"drowned them, you have summoned them being dead to appear before you  
"out of their graves, you have ripped up their buried carcases, burnt them,  
"and throws them out upon the Dunghil, you took a poor Babe falling from  
"its mothers womb, and in most cruel and barbarous manner threw it into  
"the fire. By all which several ways and means, the Martyrs in all parts of the  
Kingdom amounted to the number of two hundred seventy seven persons of  
all sorts and sexes; But more particularly there are said to have perished in  
these flames five Bishops, twenty one Divines, eight Gentlemen, eighty four  
Artificers, one hundred Husbandmen Servants and Labourers, twenty six  
Wives, twenty Widows, nine Virgins, two Boys, and two Infants; the one  
springing out of his mothers womb as she was at the stake, and most unmer-  
cifully flung into the fire in the very birth. Sixty four more in those furious  
times were presented for their faith, whereof seven were whipped, sixteen per-  
ished in prison, twelve buried in Dunghills, and many more lay in captivity  
condemned, which were delivered by the opportune death of Queen Mary,  
and the most auspicious entrance of Queen Elizabeth, whose gracious go-  
vernment blotted out the remembrance of all former sufferings; the different  
conditions of whose Reigns, with the former two, may seem to have some-  
what in them of those appearances which were presented to *Elijah* in the  
Book of *Kings*, in the first Book and nineteenth Chapter, wherein we find it  
written, *That a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the  
rocks before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an  
earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a  
fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and finally after the fire a still small voice,*  
in which the Lord spake unto his Prophet: So in like manner it may be feared,  
that God was neither in that great and terrible wind, which threw down so ma-  
ny Monasteries and Religious houses in the Reign of King Henry; nor in that  
Earthquake, which did so often shake the very foundations of the State in the  
time of King Edward; nor in the Fire, in which so many godly and religious  
persons were consumed to ashes in the days of Queen Mary; but that he  
shewed himself in that *still small Voice*, which breathed so much comfort to the  
souls of his people, in the most gracious and fortunate Government of a Vir-  
gin-Queen.

For now it pleased God to hearken to the cry of those his Saints which lay  
under the Altar, and called upon him for an end of those calamities, to which  
their dear brethren were exposed. The Queen had inclined unto a Dropsie  
ever since the time of her supposed being with child; which inclination ap-  
peared in her more and more, when her swelling fell from the right place to  
her lower parts, increasing irrecoverably in despite of Physick, till at last it  
brought her to her death. But there are divers other causes which are sup-  
posed to have contributed their concurrence in it; *Philip*, upon the resigna-  
tion of his fathers Kingdoms and Estates, had many necessary occasions to be  
out of the Kingdom, and yet she thought, that he made more occasions than  
he needed, to be absent from her; This brought her first into a fancy that he  
cared not for her, which drew her by degrees into a fixed and settled melan-  
cholly, confirmed, if not encreased, by a secret whisper, that *Philip* entertain-  
ed some wandering Loves when he was in *Flanders*. Her Glasses could not so  
much flatter as not to tell her, that she had her fathers seizures with her mo-  
thers complexion; and she was well enough able to inform her self, that the se-  
verity of her humour had no great charms in it, so that on the point she want-  
ed many of those natural and acquired attractions, which might have served to  
invite or reward affection. Fixed on this melancholy pin, the death of *Charles*  
the Emperour, which happened on the 21 of September, comes to help it for-  
ward; a Prince, upon whose countenance and support she had much depend-  
ed, both when she was in disgrace with her father, and out of favour with her  
brother. But that which came nearest to her heart was the loss of *Calais*, first  
lost for want of giving credit to the intelligence which had been sent her by  
her

her Husband; and secondly by the loss of that opportunity which might have been taken to regain it. *Monsieur d' Termes* who was made Governour of the Town, had drained it of the greatest part of the Garrison to joyn with some other forces, for the taking of some Towns in *Flanders*; But in a Battel fought near *Graveling* on the 13th. of *July*, he lost not onely his own liberty, but more then five thousand of his men; the fortune of the day falling so heavily on the Soldiers of *Calais*, that few of them escaped with life: So that if the Queens Navy, which had done great service in the fight, had showed it self before the Town, and Count *Edmond* who commanded the *Flemmings* had sate down with his victorious Army to the Landward of it, it might have been recovered in as few days as it had been lost.

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This opportunity being neglected, she gave her self some hopes of a restitution upon an agreement then in treaty between *France* and *Spain*. But when all other matters were accorded between those Crowns, and that nothing else was wanting to compose all differences but the restoring of this Town, the French were absolutely resolved to hold it, and the Spaniards could in honor make no Peace without it. So the whole Treary, and the deceitful hopes which she built upon it, came at last to nothing. And though she had somewhat eased her self not long before, by attainting the Lord *Wintworth* and certain others, for their cowardly quitting of the place, which they could not hold; yet that served onely like a cup of Strong-waters for the present qualm, without removing the juist cause of the present distemper. And it encreased so plainly in her, that when some of her Visitants, not knowing the cause of her discomforts, applied their several cordials to revive her spirits, she told them in plain rearms, that they were mistaken in the nature of her disease; and that if she were to be dissected after her death, they would find *Calais* next her heart. Thus between jealousy, shame, and sorrow, taking the growth of her infirmity amongst the rest, she became past the help of Physick. In which extremity she began to entertain some thoughts of putting here sister *Elizabeth* beside the Crown, and selling the Succession of it on her cousin the Queen of *Scots*; and she had done it, (at the least as much as in her was) if some of the Council had not told her, That neither the Act of the Succession, nor the Last Will and Testament of King *Henry* the Eighth which was built upon it, could otherwise be repealed, than by the general consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. So that being altogether out of hope of having her will upon her sister, of recovering *Calais*, of enjoying the company of her husband, and reigning in the good affection of her injured subjects; she gave her self over to those sorrows which put an end to her life on the 17th. of *November*, some few hours before day, when she had reigned five years and four months wanting two days onely. Her death accompanied within few howers after by that of the Lord Cardinal-Legat, ushered in by the decease of *Puresew*, alias *Wharton*, Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Holyman* the new Bishop of *Bristol*, and *Glyn* of *Bangor*, and followed within two or three months after by *Hopson* Bishop of *Norwich*, and *Brooks* of *Glocester*: As if it had been necessary in point of State, that so great a Princess should not die without some of her Bishops going before, and some coming after. Her funeral solemnized at *Westminster* with a Mass of *Requiem*, in the wonted form, on the 13th. of *December* then next following, and her body interred on the North side of the Chapel of King *Henry* the seventh; her beloved Grandfather.

I shall not trouble my self with giving any other character of this Queen, than what may be gathered from her story, much less in descanting on that which is made by others, who have heaped upon her many gracious praiseworthy qualities. of which, whether she were Mistress or not, I dispute not now. She was indeed a great Benefactresse to the Clergy, in releasing them of their Tenth and First-fruits; but she lost nothing by the bargain, the Clergy paid her back again in their Bills of Subsidies, which growing into an annual payment for seven years together, and every Subsidy amounting to a double Tenth,

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Tenth, conduced as visibly to the constant filling of the Exchequer, as the payment of the Tenth and First-fruits had done before. That which went clearly out of her purse without retribution, was the re-edifying and endowment of some few Religious Houses, mentioned in their proper place; she also built the publick Schools in the University of *Oxon*, for which commemorated in the list of their Benefactors; which being decayed in tract of time, and of no beautiful structure when they were at the best, were taken down about the year 1612. in place whereof, but on a larger extent of ground, was raised that goodly and magnificent Fabrick which we now behold. And though she had no followers in her first foundations, yet by the last she gave encouragement to two worthy Gentlemen to add two new Colleges in *Oxon* to the former number. Sir *Thomas Pope*, one of the Visitors of Abbeys and other Religious Houses in the time of King *Henry*, had got into his hands a small College in *Oxon*, long before founded by the Bishop and Prior of *Darham*, to serve for a Nursery of Novices to that greater Monastery; with some of the Lands thereunto belonging, and some others of his own, he erected it into a new Foundation, consisting of a President, twelve Fellows, and as many Scholars, and called it by the name of *Trinity College*; A College sufficiently famous for the education of the learned and renowned *Selden*, who needs no other *Titles of honor* than what may be gathered from his Books, and the giving of eight thousand Volumes of all sorts to the *Oxford Library*. Greater, as to the number of Fellows and Scholars, was the Foundation of Sir *Thomas Whitt*, Lord Mayor of *London*, in the year 1553. being the first year of the Queen; who in the place where formerly stood an old House or Hostel, commonly called *Barnards Inne*, erected a new College by the name of *St. John Baptists College*, consisting of a President, fifty Fellows and Scholars, besides some Officers and Servants which belonged to the Chapel, the vacant places to be filled for the most part out of the *Merchant Taylors School* in *London*, of which Company he had been free before his Mayoralty. A College founded as it seems in a lucky hour, affording to the Church in less than the space of eighty years no fewer than two Archbishops and four Bishops, that is to say, Doctor *William Laud* the most renowned Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of whom more else-where, Doctor *Tobie Matthews* the most reverend Archbishop of *York*, Doctor *William Juxon* Bishop of *London* and Lord Treasurer, Doctor *John Bucheridge* Bishop of *Elie*, Doctor *Rowland Serchfield* Bishop of *Bristol*, Doctor *Boyl* Bishop of *Cork* in the Realm of *Ireland*. Had it not been for these Foundations, there had been nothing in this Reign to have made it memorable, but onely the calamities and misfortunes of it.